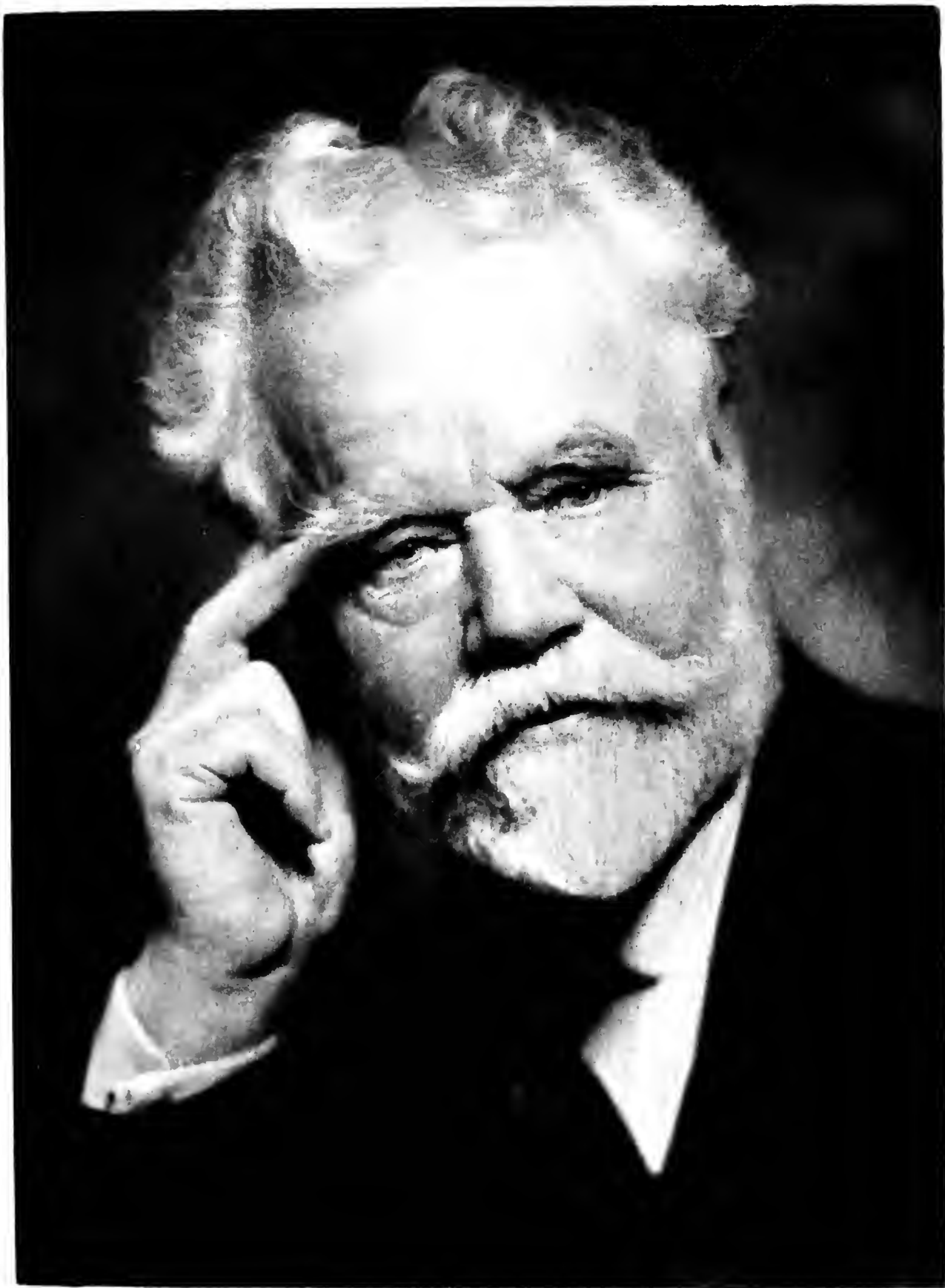


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Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LODGE PROCEEDINGS.

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| Friday, 1st January, 1937 | 1 |
| Friday, 5th March, 1937 | 30 |
| Friday, 7th May, 1937 | 92 |
| Summer Outing: East Warwickshire, Thursday, 17th June, to Sunday, 20th June, 1937 | 133 |
| Thursday, 24th June, 1937 | 143 |
| Friday, 1st October, 1937 | 187 |
| Monday, 8th November, 1937 | 211 |

NOTES AND QUERIES.

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| <i>Lelande-Locke</i> MS. | 128 |
|--------------------------|-----|

OBITUARY.

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Achard, W. C. | 129 |
| Baird, H. | 129 |
| Baldwyn, F. J. | 129 |
| Bent, T. | 129 |
| Bishop, J. H. | 129 |
| Blackmore, T. H. | 129 |
| Boutell, F. H. | 129 |
| Braine, C. W. | 129 |
| Brooke-Pechell, <i>Sir</i> A. A. | 227 |
| Browse, H. W. J. | 129 |
| Caldwell, J. | 227 |
| Cass, A. | 129 |
| Chapman, J. | 129 |
| Childe, <i>Rev. Canon</i> C. V. | 129 |
| Collins, G. L. | 130 |
| Cook, J. | 130 |
| Crump, <i>Dr.</i> C. H. | 227 |
| de Lafontaine, H. T. C. | 227 |
| Earle, <i>Dr.</i> J. H. | 227 |
| Emery, G. E. | 130 |
| Ensor, A. J. | 130 |
| Evans, T. | 227 |
| Findlay, M. F. | 130 |
| Fishel, J. | 130 |
| Gilliland, W. E. | 227 |
| Gilmour, P. G. | 130 |
| Gordon, A. T. | 227 |
| Gould, J. G. | 130 |
| Graham, J. | 130 |
| Haden-Crawford, F. | 227 |
| Hansel, J. P. | 227 |
| Hartley, W. C. | 130 |
| Hills, G. P. G. | 187, 227 |
| Hinman, E. E. | 130 |
| Howlett, A. G. | 130 |
| Infeld, M. | 130 |
| Inglis, J. | 228 |
| Kean, O. S. | 130 |
| King-Baker, S. J. | 228 |

OBITUARY.—Continued.

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------|
| L'Amie, W. J. | 228 |
| Lipscomb, W. G. | 130 |
| MacLachlan, <i>Maj.-Gen.</i> J. D. | 228 |
| McWilliam, A. | 131 |
| Mirrlees, <i>Rev.</i> C. B. | 228 |
| Nuell, F. H. | 228 |
| Oakley, D. | 131 |
| Parsons, H. D. | 228 |
| Pepper, <i>Sir</i> F. H. | 131 |
| Pieterse, J. F. G. | 228 |
| Plenderleath, <i>Capt.</i> C. W. M. | 131 |
| Plowman, P. | 131 |
| Rhodes, C. H. | 131 |
| Ridley, F. R. | 228 |
| Robertson, <i>Lt.-Col.</i> J. G. | 131 |
| Roehrich, W. G. | 131 |
| Roynon, J. R. J. | 228 |
| Santhagens, R. V. E. | 228 |
| Sharp, F. B. | 131 |
| Sharratt, A. | 131 |
| Shillam, W. H. | 228 |
| Shipton, <i>Comdr.</i> F. H. E. | 131 |
| Silberbauer, C. F. | 228 |
| Slaughter, M. | 228 |
| Smith, E. E. | 229 |
| Stevens, E. P. | 131 |
| Sutton, G. W. | 131 |
| Thomas, E. L. | 229 |
| Thomas, E. W. | 132 |
| Travissick, W. J. | 132 |
| Valk, P. | 229 |
| Vass, E. J. | 229 |
| Walker, C. H. | 132 |
| Wood, F. | 132 |
| Wyatt, <i>Rev.</i> V. P. | 229 |

PAPERS AND ESSAYS.

| | |
|---|----|
| The Graham Manuscript. By H. Poole | 5 |
| The importance of this, the latest discovery, 5; The probable date, earlier than the apparent date, as given, 1726, 5; Relationship to the <i>Whole Institution</i> and <i>Grand Mystery</i> of 1726, 6; All three probably derived from a common original, 7; Links with <i>Dumfries</i> and other texts, 8; Peculiarities of this text, 9; The especial feature of the Noah legend, 10; Comparison with the Hiram legend as given by Prichard, 1730, 11; The difficulties of the problem, 12; References by Anderson and others to Noachidae and to Antediluvian Masonry, 12; The passwords that are indicated, 14; Conclusion, 14. Appendices—Full text of the <i>Whole Institution</i> and the <i>Grand Mystery</i> , 15. | |
| The Romances of Robison and Barruel. By W. K. Firminger ... | 31 |
| Characteristics of the two authors,—Robison, 31; Barruel, 37; Erroneous descriptions of the Lodges,—Neuf Soeurs, 42; Contrat Social, 45; Amis Réunis, 53; Sources of information, 32; False identifications of prominent revolutionaries,—Fouchet, 44; d'Esprémenil, 51; and others; The writers' accounts of their own initiations,—Robison, 31; Barruel, 38; The general inaccuracies and prejudices of both writers, 64. | |

PAPERS AND ESSAYS.—*Continued.*

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------|
| James Sketchley, of Birmingham, Auctioneer, Printer, Publisher and Freemason. By S. J. Fenton | 94 |
| <p>Birmingham in Sketchley's days, 94; The <i>Birmingham Directory</i> of 1763; Similar Directories at Bristol and Sheffield, 95; The <i>Bee</i>, a weekly paper at Bristol, 97; The <i>Birmingham Register</i>, 99; Early Freemasonry in Warwickshire, 101; Portraits of Sketchley, 102; His membership of No. 71, 'Ancients', 104; The new Lodge No. 124 founded in 1763, 105; He constitutes a 'Modern' Lodge, 107; Absence from Birmingham from 1774 to 1784, 109; Activities of St. Paul's Lodge, 109; The Lodge at Henley-in-Arden, 113; Provincial Grand Lodge founded; Sketchley as Provincial Grand Secretary, 114; Later activities, 115; His death in 1801, 118. Appendices, 118.</p> | |
| Notes on some Eighteenth Century Masonic Handbooks. By C. C. Adams | 145 |
| <p>Printed versions of the Old Charges, 146; <i>Multa Paucis</i>, 148; Some English Handbooks, 153; Some Scottish and Irish Handbooks, 157; Wellins Calcott, <i>A Candid Disquisition</i>, 160; William Hutchinson, <i>The Spirit of Masonry</i>, 162; William Preston, <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i>, 163; The <i>Illustrations</i> as a model for other works, 169; Robert Trewman, <i>The Principles of Freemasonry delineated</i>, 172; <i>The Principles</i> as a model for other works, 174; Conclusion, 175.</p> | |
| The Sixteenth Century Mason. By Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones ... | 191 |
| <p>Introductory, 191; Changes in the organisation of building operations, 192; Changes in the administration of building operations, 193; The growing importance of plans and designs, 193; The increase in the number of officials, 195; The decline in the status of the Master Mason, 196; Changes in employers, 197; Changes in Masons' working conditions, 198; Terms employed, 198; Wages, 200; Holidays, 203; Overtime, 205; Impressment, 205; Lodges, 207; Tools, 207; Changes in the organisation among masons, 208; The decay of the Assembly, 208; The Old Charges and their provisions now obsolete so far as the actual trade is concerned, 208.</p> | |
| Lodges in Guernsey—Precedence. By G. S. Knocker | 70 |
| Early Freemasonry in Chester. By R. R. G. Smallwood | 77 |
| Royal Freemasons. By Lionel Vibert | 139 |
| Inaugural Address. By F. W. Golby | 213 |
| The Toast of the W.M. By G. Elkington | 218 |
| William Schaw. By J. W. Saunders | 220 |

REVIEWS.

| | | |
|--|---------------------|-----|
| History of Freemasonry in New Jersey. By David McGregor, 1937 | J. Heron Lepper ... | 127 |
| Masonic Symbolism. By Charles Clyde Hunt, 1939 | J. Heron Lepper ... | 127 |

INDEX

| | PAGE. |
|---|--------------------|
| <i>Ahiman Rezon</i> | 149 |
| Alcester, visit to | 134 |
| Antediluvian Masonry | 12, 23 |
| <i>Antient Constitutions, Book of</i> , —Cole | 147 |
| Bath, Sketchley at | 97 |
| <i>Bee, The</i> | 97 |
| Birmingham in 18th Century | 94 |
| <i>Birmingham Directory</i> | 95, 100 |
| Book of the Prov.G.M. of W. Chester | 84 |
| <i>Bookmakers of Old Birmingham</i> —Hill | 94 |
| Bristol, Sketchley at | 98, 100, 109 |
| Building operations, organisa- tion of 16th Century | 192 |
| <i>Candid Disquisition, A</i> —Calcott | 152, 160 |
| Cheshire, Prov. G. Lodge of | 80 |
| Chester | 77 |
| Clermont Constitution | 51 |
| Conditions, Working, of Masons, 16th Century | 198 |
| Constitutions:— | |
| 1723 | 23 |
| 1738 | 11, 145 |
| Kearsley | 153 |
| Northouck | 168 |
| Pennell | 26 |
| Spratt | 151 |
| Constitutions, MS.:— | |
| Chetwode Crawley | 25 |
| Cooke | 21 |
| Dodd | 148 |
| Dumfries, No. 4 | 8 |
| Edinburgh Register House | 11 |
| Leland-Locke | 128, 159, 160, 163 |
| Sloane | 11 |
| Trinity College, Dublin | 11 |
| Dedication in Book of Prov. G. Master, W. Chester | 85 |
| <i>Defence of Freemasonry</i> —Brice | 172 |
| <i>Discourse upon Masonry</i> —Minty | 157, 158 |
| Donations by Sketchley | 111 |
| Edgehill, visit to | 136 |
| <i>Elements of Freemasonry</i> <i>delineated</i> | 174 |
| <i>Elements of Freemasonry</i> <i>delineated</i> —Ray | 175 |
| Employers in 16th Century | 197 |
| <i>Encyclopedia of Freemasonry</i> — Mackey | 167 |
| Evesham, visit to | 136 |
| Exhibits:— | |
| Aprons:— | |
| Green edged | 30 |
| G. Orient France, E.A. | 30 |
| G. Lodge Hamburg | 190 |
| Linen, home-made | 190 |
| Apron and Collar—green | 212 |

Exhibits:—

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| Ballads, Collection of, 1723 . | 4 |
| Certificates:— | |
| Craft, Irish | 93 |
| Craft, Lodge on 'Van- guard' | 4 |
| K.T. | 93 |
| Mark | 93 |
| R.A. | 93 |
| W.M. | 93 |
| Charbonniers, engraving showing a Chantier | 190 |
| Collar—green | 30 |
| —Master's | 30 |
| Common-place Book—Burrell | 190 |
| Constitutions — <i>Huddleston</i> MS., photographs of | 93 |
| Hindu Deities, bronze figures | 190 |
| Jewels:— | |
| 'Antients', Lodge No. 310 | 4 |
| 'Antients', R.A. | 4 |
| Battersea enamel | 190 |
| Founder's, Lodge No. 3404 | 93 |
| Locket shaped, 1783 | 144 |
| Lodge No. 3404 | 93 |
| Pierced, silver, circular | 3 |
| Portuguese, pierced | 144 |
| P.M. 1866 | 144 |
| P.M. Lodge St. George | 93 |
| Scotch, Eskdale Kilwinning, circular | 93 |
| Silver, with emblems | 4 |
| W.M. Lodge No. 3404 . | 93 |
| Portrait Group, John Freeth and his circle | 93 |
| Publications:— | |
| <i>Ahiman Rezon</i> , 1764 | 144 |
| <i>Candid Disquisition</i> , Calcott | 144 |
| <i>Constitutions</i> , Kearsley, 1769 | 144 |
| "Finch" | 93 |
| <i>Freemasons' Repository</i> , Birmingham | 144 |
| <i>History of Guy's Lodge</i> | 143 |
| <i>Illustrations</i> , Preston (with Meeson) | 144 |
| <i>Multa Paucis</i> | 144 |
| <i>Principles</i> , Trewman | 144 |
| <i>Reception d'un Frey- Maçon</i> | 144 |
| <i>Sufferings of John</i> <i>Coustos</i> —Sketchley.. | 93 |
| Regalia—P.G.D. England, 1826 | 190 |
| Sampler, Masonic, framed... .. | 93 |
| Staffordshire ware, plates | 143 |
| Tea-caddy | 144 |
| Warrant, Lodge, G.L. Massachusetts—blank | 93 |
| Watch, 'turnip' | 144 |

Exhibits:—

| | PAGE. |
|--|------------|
| Working tools, used at laying foundation stone of St. Peter's, Murrumbene, 1924 | 212 |
| France, Grand Lodge of | 47 |
| <i>Fraternal Melody</i> —Riley | 159 |
| <i>Freemason's Companion</i> —Angus | 154 |
| <i>Freemason's Pocket Companion</i> | 175 |
| <i>Freemason's Repository</i> — Sketchley | 170, 183 |
| Graham MS. | 16 |
| Graham MS., date of | 5 |
| Grand Lodge of France | 47 |
| <i>Grand Mistress of Female Free-</i> <i>masons</i> | 18 |
| <i>Grand Mystery laid open</i> | 6, 16 |
| Grand Orient of France | 47 |
| Handbooks, English | 153 |
| Irish | 157 |
| Scottish | 157 |
| Harodim, Grand Chapter of | 169 |
| <i>Histoire des Chargé pendant la</i> <i>Révolution</i> —Barruel | 38 |
| <i>History of Freemasonry</i> —Gould | 166 |
| <i>History of Freemasonry</i> —Johnson | 155 |
| <i>History of Freemasonry in Staf-</i> <i>fordshire</i> —Graham | 114 |
| <i>History of Inverkeithing</i> —Stephen | 221 |
| <i>History of Lodge of Edinburgh</i> —Murray Lyon | 27 |
| Holidays in 16th Century | 203 |
| Illuminati of Bavaria | 41, 49, 58 |
| <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> — Preston | 160, 163 |
| Impressions in 16th Century | 205 |
| Industrial Organisation in 16th Century | 191 |
| <i>Institutes of Freemasonry</i> — Turnough | 173 |
| Integration of Management in 16th Century | 191 |
| <i>Introduction to Freemasonry</i> — Meeson | 154 |
| Kenilworth, visit to | 138 |
| <i>King's Master Masons</i> —R. S. Mylne | 220 |
| L.D.P. | 56 |
| <i>La Conjuraton d'Orleans</i> — Montjoye | 37 |
| <i>Le Tombeau de Jacques Molay</i> — de Grassicourt | 41 |
| Leamington, visit to | 133 |
| <i>Les Helvetiennes</i> —Barruel | 37 |
| <i>Les Masques Arrachés</i> —Sner | 48, 49 |
| Lodges in 16th Century | 207 |

Lodges referred to:—

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Alloa | 225 |
| Amis Reunis | 36, 43, 53 |
| Apollo, Alcester | 102, 114, 134 |
| Antiquity, No. 2 | 166 |
| Barnard Castle | 162 |
| Bunch of Grapes, Chatham | 150 |
| Candeur | 43 |
| Castle and Faulkon, Chester | 81 |
| Contrat Social | 43, 45 |
| de la Fidelité | 32 |
| de Saint Lazare | 45 |

Lodges referred to:—

| | PAGE. |
|--|----------|
| d'Ecosse de Vertu Persecutée des Chevaliers Bienfaisants, Paris | 45 32 |
| des Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Saint Cité Lyons | 32 |
| des Philalèthes | 32 |
| Doyle's of Friendship, No. 615 | 70, 73 |
| Harmony No. 612 | 70 |
| King's Arms No. 116 | 165 |
| La Parfait Intelligence | 31 |
| Loyalty No. 623 | 70, 74 |
| Ludge of Dundie | 27 |
| Mariner's No. 611 | 70 |
| Mère Loge Ecossais | 45 |
| Neuf Soeurs | 42 |
| No. 43 'Antients' | 102 |
| No. 71 'Antients' | 102, 104 |
| No. 124 'Antients' | 105 |
| Old Kilwinning of Inverness | 26 |
| Orange No. 610 | 70 |
| Palladian, Hereford | 161 |
| Perfect Friendship No. 308 | 161 |
| Punch Bowl, York | 155 |
| Réunion des Etrangers | 44 |
| Rock, Gibraltar | 150 |
| Rose and Crown, Coventry... .. | 107 |
| Salopian, Shrewsbury | 114 |
| Shakespeare, Stratford-on- Avon | 102, 114 |
| Spread Eagle, Chester | 81 |
| St. Albans, Birmingham | 102 |
| St. Bartholomew's, Tam- worth | 114 |
| St. James, Tarbolton | 168 |
| St. John's, Henley-in-Arden | 102, 113 |
| St. Paul's, Birmingham | 102, 110 |
| Sunn, Chester | 80 |
| Tendre Accueil | 46 |
| Trinity, Coventry | 102 |
| Trois Globes | 42 |
| Union No. 372 | 161 |
| Unity No. 613 | 70 |

| | |
|---|----------|
| <i>Maçonnerie Adonhiramique</i> <i>devoitée</i> | 32 |
| Martinists | 58, 61 |
| <i>Masonic Institutes</i> —Oliver | 155 |
| <i>Masonic Miscellanies</i> —Jones | 156, 171 |
| <i>Masonic Records</i> —Lane | 150, 162 |
| <i>Masonry Dissected</i> | 9, 44 |
| <i>Mason's Confession</i> | 9, 27 |
| Master Mason, decline in status in 16th Century | 196 |
| <i>Mémoires</i> —Barruel | 33 |
| <i>Mémoires Secrètes</i> —Bachanmont | 37 |
| <i>Memoirs</i> —Bissett | 102 |
| <i>Multa Paucis</i> | 148, 178 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>New Jersey, History of Free-</i> <i>masonry in</i> —McGregor | 127 |
| Nomenclature of Employers in 16th Century | 198 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Old Constitutions</i> —Roberts | 146 |
| Overtime in 16th Century | 205 |

Persons referred to:—

| | |
|---|-----|
| Anderson, Dr. J. 11, 23, 32, 78, 91, 140, 145, 153 | |
| Angus, T. | 154 |
| Autun, Bishop of | 30 |
| Bain, G. W. | 24 |
| Barruel, Abbé | 37 |

Persons referred to:—

| | PAGE. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| Bartolio, <i>Abbé</i> ... | 36, 53 |
| Beaufort, <i>Duke of</i> ... | 160 |
| Birkenhead, Matthew ... | 140 |
| Bisset, J. ... | 119 |
| Blunt, J. ... | 119 |
| Bode, J. J. C. ... | 42, 47, 61, 62 |
| Bonneville, N. ... | 44 |
| Bradshaw, L. ... | 194 |
| Brice, A. ... | 172 |
| Briscoe, S. ... | 146 |
| Brissot ... | 43 |
| Brockwell, <i>Rev. C.</i> ... | 159, 172 |
| Bruckfield, S. ... | 107 |
| Bruneteau, L. P. ... | 46 |
| Buonaparte, Napoléon ... | 38, 42 |
| Burns, Robert ... | 168 |
| Byron, <i>Lord</i> ... | 150 |
| Cagliostro ... | 41, 51, 56 |
| Calcott, W. ... | 152, 160, 184 |
| Callendar, J. ... | 157 |
| Carter, T. M. ... | 113 |
| Chalmers, <i>Rev. H.</i> ... | 161 |
| Chapman, T. ... | 169 |
| Chartres, <i>Duc de</i> ... | 32 |
| Child, J. ... | 104 |
| Chubb, J. ... | 172 |
| Codrington, J. ... | 173 |
| Coke, Humphrey ... | 194 |
| Cole, B. ... | 147, 148 |
| Cole, J. ... | 156 |
| Collard, J. ... | 119 |
| Collumbine, H. ... | 88 |
| Columbine, <i>Lt.-Col. B.</i> ... | 88 |
| Columbine, E. ... | 89 |
| Columbine, <i>Col. Sir F.</i> ... | 77, 79, 80 |
| Columbine, G. ... | 89 |
| Columbine, J. ... | 89 |
| Columbine, T. ... | 89 |
| Columbine, V. ... | 89 |
| Columbine, <i>B.-Gen. V.</i> ... | 87 |
| Condorcet ... | 32, 36, 43 |
| Conti, <i>Prince de</i> ... | 37 |
| Coulthurst, S. L. ... | 78 |
| Coustos, J. ... | 170 |
| Cowper, <i>Justice S.</i> ... | 79 |
| Crawley, <i>Dr. Chetwode</i> ... | 85 |
| Cumberland, <i>Duke of</i> ... | 149 |
| Daudet, A. ... | 38 |
| d'Aiguillon ... | 36 |
| d'Esprémenil, J. J. D. ... | 36, 51 |
| de la Henrière ... | 36 |
| de la Salle, <i>Marquis</i> ... | 36 |
| de Langes, Savalette ... | 36 |
| de Robineau, A. L. B. ... | 50 |
| de Rohan, <i>Cardinal</i> ... | 58 |
| de Spoule, J. ... | 196 |
| Deleutre ... | 51 |
| Dermott, Laurence ... | 105, 149, 178 |
| Desaguliers, <i>Dr. T.</i> ... | 32 |
| Diderot ... | 32 |
| Dietrich, <i>Baron F. de</i> ... | 57 |
| Dixwell, J. ... | 160 |
| Donaldson, A. ... | 157 |
| Donovan, J. ... | 159 |
| Doyle, <i>Sir J.</i> ... | 71, 72 |
| Drake, <i>Dr. F.</i> ... | 147 |
| Dudley and Ward, <i>Lord</i> ... | 108 |
| Dunckerley, T. ... | 67, 161 |
| Dyceonson ... | 196 |
| Eckstein ... | 119 |
| Entick, <i>Rev. J.</i> ... | 78 |
| Evans, T. ... | 105 |

Persons referred to:—

| | PAGE. |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Fanchet, <i>Abbé</i> ... | 44 |
| Fearon, J. ... | 119 |
| Ferrers, <i>Earl</i> ... | 150 |
| Freeth, J. ... | 103, 108, 118 |
| French, T. ... | 161 |
| Gaudry, J. S. ... | 161 |
| Girtaner, <i>Dr.</i> ... | 50 |
| Golby, F. W. ... | 218 |
| Gooch, T. ... | 115 |
| Gould, R. F. ... | 12, 26, 155 |
| Graham, Bellingham ... | 28 |
| Graham, H. ... | 114 |
| Grant, J. ... | 115 |
| Grombard, W. ... | 195 |
| Hadley, H. ... | 115 |
| Hancox, W. ... | 195 |
| Hart, <i>Rev. J.</i> ... | 162 |
| Hawthorne, H. ... | 194 |
| Heaton, W. E. ... | 157 |
| Higden, R. ... | 77 |
| Hill, J. ... | 94 |
| Hoffman, L. A. ... | 42 |
| Holme, Randle ... | 78 |
| Hughan, W. J. ... | 25, 26 |
| Hutchinson, W. ... | 160, 162 |
| Inchiquin, <i>Lord</i> ... | 79 |
| Isdell, <i>Rev. C.</i> ... | 72 |
| Johnson, T. ... | 155 |
| Jones, Inigo ... | 166 |
| Jones, S. ... | 156 |
| Kearsley, G. ... | 153 |
| Kingston, <i>Lord</i> ... | 147 |
| Knigge, <i>Baron A.</i> ... | 42, 61 |
| La Fayette, <i>Marquis de</i> ... | 36 |
| La Rochefoucauld, <i>Duc de</i> ... | 43, 49, 53 |
| Lane, J. ... | 150, 162 |
| Larkin, P. ... | 149, 178 |
| Lawson, P. H. ... | 78 |
| Lefranc, <i>Abbé F.</i> ... | 38 |
| Leslie, C. ... | 163 |
| Leveaux, C. T. ... | 58 |
| Lyon, D. Murray ... | 27, 220 |
| Mackenzie, <i>Sir G.</i> ... | 221 |
| Mackey, A. G. ... | 167 |
| Martel, Charles ... | 139 |
| Martin, J. A. ... | 36 |
| Maury, <i>Archbishop</i> ... | 50 |
| Meeson, W. ... | 153, 184 |
| Miles, J. ... | 119 |
| Minet, <i>Bishop</i> ... | 36 |
| Minty, G. ... | 157 |
| Mirabeau, <i>Marquis de</i> ... | 19, 32, 36, 61, 63 |
| Mitchell, H. ... | 195 |
| Moreau, M. L. E. ... | 52 |
| Mouton, A. J. ... | 170 |
| Murray, J. ... | 119 |
| Mylne, R. S. ... | 220 |
| Nedham, J. ... | 194 |
| Oakley, E. ... | 147 |
| Oliver, <i>Dr. G.</i> ... | 155 |
| Orleans, <i>Duc d'</i> ... | 36 |
| Paton, G. ... | 157 |
| Payne, G. ... | 78 |
| Perigord, <i>Abbé</i> ... | 36 |

Persons referred to:—

| | PAGE. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Petre, <i>Lord</i> | 162, 164 |
| Prescot, J. | 110 |
| Preston, W. | 160, 163 |
| Prichard, S. | 9, 10, 145 |
| Rawlinson, <i>Dr. R.</i> | 87 |
| Redman, H. | 194 |
| Riley | 159 |
| Roberts, J. | 146 |
| Robespierre | 58 |
| Robinet | 32 |
| Robinson, <i>Rev. H. L.</i> | 6 |
| Robinson, N. E. | 72 |
| Robison, J. | 31 |
| Rogers, <i>Dr. J.</i> | 159 |
| Ruston, E. | 105, 108 |
| Sadler, H. | 10 |
| Schaw, Alexander | 223 |
| Schaw, James | 222 |
| Schaw, John | 223 |
| Schaw, William | 220 |
| Schmeltau, <i>Comte</i> | 43 |
| Seagar, S. | 115 |
| Shedden, A. | 161 |
| Shrewsbury, <i>Countess of</i> | 201 |
| Sicyès, <i>Abbé</i> | 36 |
| Sketchley, J. | 94, 95, 101, 116, 121, 170 |
| Sketchley, J. D. | 115 |
| Sketchley, S. | 108 |
| Smith, <i>Capt. G.</i> | 44, 164, 169 |
| Smith, S. | 89 |
| Smith, W. | 161 |
| Smythe, J. | 194 |
| Southwell, <i>Rt. Hon. T.</i> | 157 |
| Speth, G. W. | 25, 26 |
| Starck, J. A. | 42 |
| St. Martin | 58 |
| Swedenborg, E. | 55 |
| Swift, <i>Dr. J.</i> | 25 |
| Symons, R. | 195 |
| Talleyrand | 42 |
| Thompson, T. | 110 |
| Thory | 47 |
| Timmins, J. | 111 |
| Toloda, <i>Comte de</i> | 171 |
| Toy, S. | 119 |
| Tresham, <i>Sir T.</i> | 195 |
| Trewman, R. | 172 |
| Tuckett, J. E. S. | 53 |
| Turnough, J. | 173 |
| Vaux, J. | 119 |
| Vertue, W. | 194 |
| Voltaire | 43 |
| Walter of Hereford | 196 |
| Warburton, <i>Capt. H.</i> | 90, 91 |
| Warburton, T. | 79 |
| Ward, R. | 194 |
| Warde, T. | 206 |
| Webster, R. | 119 |
| Weishaupt, J. A. | 42, 57 |
| Whitmarsh, J. | 161 |
| Wigge, G. | 195 |
| Wilkes, J. | 119 |

Persons referred to:—

| | PAGE. |
|--|----------|
| Wilkie, J. | 162, 165 |
| Wilkinson, T. | 153, 159 |
| Willermoz, J. B. | 35 |
| William of Wykeham | 196 |
| Williams, J. | 164 |
| Wilmot, W. | 6, 26 |
| Wolfe, <i>General</i> | 31 |
| Wren, <i>Sir C.</i> | 168 |
| Wynford, W. | 196 |
| Pillars | 23 |
| Plans and designs, importance of, in the 16th Century | 193 |
| <i>Pocket Companion</i> —Donaldson .. | 157 |
| Scott | 149 |
| W. Smith .. | 161 |
| <i>Pocket Companions</i> | 145 |
| <i>Pocket Manual</i> —Preston | 169 |
| <i>Polychronicon</i> —Higden | 77 |
| Portrait of Sketchley | 102 |
| <i>Poughkeepsie Journal</i> | 116 |
| <i>Principles of Freemasonry delineated</i> —Trewman | 172 |
| <i>Principles and Practice of Freemasonry</i> | 161 |
| <i>Proofs of a Conspiracy</i> —Robison | 33 |
| Provincial Grand Officers, Chester | 89 |
| Regimental Record Book of 10th Regiment | 86 |
| Rite philosophique | 46 |
| <i>Secret History of the Freemasons</i> —Briscoe | 24, 146 |
| Sheffield, Sketchley at | 98 |
| <i>Solomon's Temple</i> | 161 |
| <i>Songs, A collection of</i> —Callendar | 157 |
| <i>Songs, A select collection of</i> —Trewman | 172 |
| <i>Spirit of Masonry</i> —Hutchinson | 160, 162 |
| Strict Observance | 58 |
| <i>Sublime Friendship delineated</i> —Donovan | 159 |
| Summer Outings | 213 |
| <i>Sur les vraies causes de la Révolution actuelle</i> —Barruel | 38 |
| <i>Symbolism, Masonic</i> —Hunt | 127 |
| <i>Systèmes de la Nature</i> —Diderot | 32 |
| <i>Thoughts, Moral and Divine</i> —Calcott | 160 |
| <i>Three Distinct Knocks</i> | 18 |
| <i>Three Immemorial Lodges</i> —Gould | 27 |
| Tokens, Sketchley Masonic | 117 |
| Tools in 16th Century | 207 |
| <i>Use and Abuse of Freemasonry</i> —Smith | 44 |
| <i>Vindication of Masonry</i> —Leslie | 163, 165 |
| Wages of Masons in 16th Century | 200, 202 |
| Warwick, visit to | 133 |
| Warwickshire, Province of | 102, 110 |
| <i>Whole Institutions of Freemasons opened</i> | 6, 15 |
| Wootton Wawen, visit to | 134 |

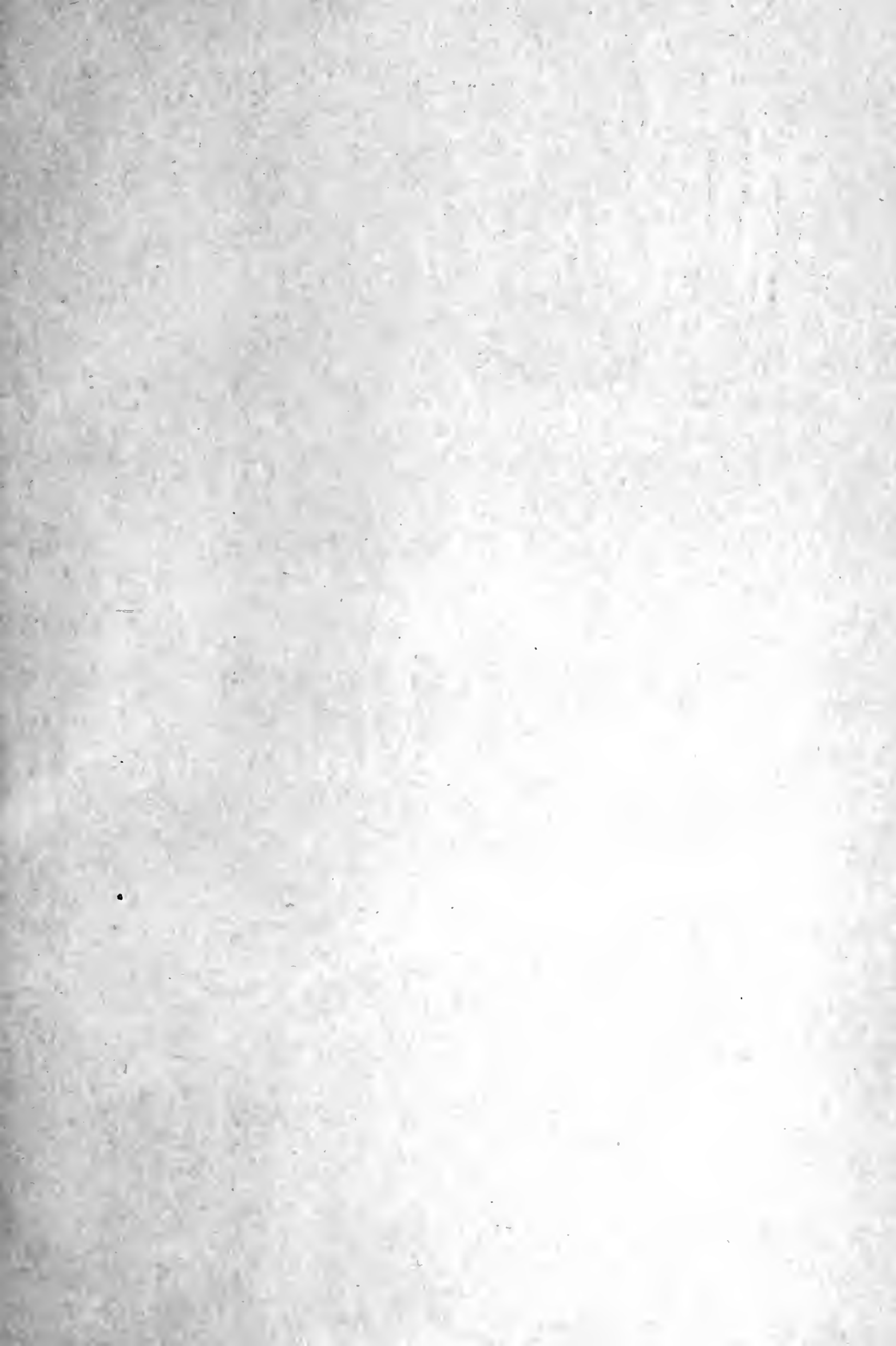
CONTRIBUTORS.

| | PAGE. | | PAGE. |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|
| Adams, <i>Maj.</i> C. C. | 145 | Knocker, G. S. | 70 |
| Elkington, G. | 218 | Knoop, Douglas | 191 |
| Fenton, S. J. | 94 | Lepper, J. Heron | 127 |
| Firminger, <i>Rev.</i> W. K. | 31 | Poole, <i>Rev.</i> H. | 5 |
| Golby, F. W. | 213 | Saunders, J. W. | 220 |
| Haydon, N. W. J. | 128 | Smallwood, R. H. G. | 77 |
| | | Vibert, Lionel | 139 |



ILLUSTRATIONS.

| | PAGE. | | PAGE. |
|---|-------|--|---------------------|
| Book of Pr.G.M., Chester—Title-page | 85 | Freeth, John, and his circle ... | 118 |
| Bookplate of Sir F. Columbine, large | 83 | Portrait: Lt.-Gen. Sir Francis Columbine ... | 83 |
| Bookplate of Sir F. Columbine, small | 83 | F. W. Golby ... | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| Dedication, end of, in Book of Pr.G.M., Chester ... | 85 | Regimental Book, 10th Regiment | 85 |



Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,

No. 2076.

VOLUME L.

FRIDAY, 1st JANUARY, 1937.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present : —
Bros. George Elkington, P.G.D., W.M.; Douglas Knoop, M.A.,
I.P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., as S.W.; W. J.
Williams, P.M., as J.W.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A.,
P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M.; Lionel Vibert,
P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; *Major* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D.,
J.D.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.Reg.; and *Rev.* H. Poole,
B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. C. Innes ;
C. A. Everitt; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B.; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; R. A. L.
Harland; E. W. Marson; G. D. Elvidge; H. Love; J. Mc.Dade; W. Morgan Day;
Commdr. S. N. Smith; R. C. Lowndes; T. E. Rees; Oswald Adamson; J. H.
Greenwood; R. M. Strickland; Wm. Smalley; R. J. Sadlier, P.A.G.St.B.; J. C.
da Costa; Wm. Lewis; Geo. C. Williams; H. W. Martin; Arthur Saywell,
P.A.G.St.B.; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; A. F. Cross; F. Morfee Walsh; T. W. Marsh;
G. W. South; *Rev.* G. Freeman Irwin, D.D., P.G.Ch.; Fred. Underwood, P.A.G.D.C.;
J. F. H. Gilbard; F. T. Cramphorn; J. H. Smith; F. M. Shaw; C. S. D. Cole;
H. Douglas Elkington; F. G. Carruthers; A. H. Goddard; *Capt.* A. F. G.
Warrington; *Rev.* B. W. Harvey, P.A.G.Ch.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. Johnson, Vigilance Lodge No. 3859;
W. M. Martin, P.Dis.G.D., Bombay; J. E. N. Walker, S.W., Dorking Lodge No.
1149; Geo. W. Baker, I.P.M., Old Chelmsfordian Lodge No. 5499; R. W. Fryer
(Jr.), Granite Lodge No. 1328; C. J. Law, P.M., Pilgrims' Lodge No. 5008.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. B. Telepneff;
R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills,
P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; *Dr.* G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine,
P.G.D., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, S.W.; W. Jenkinson;
J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch.,
P.M.; and F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.

Five Lodges, Two Lodges of Instruction and Twenty Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 1st, 1937.

Present:—Bro. G. Elkington, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. W. J. Williams, W. J. Songhurst, S. J. Fenton, W. W. Covey-Crump, Douglas Knoop, L. Edwards, C. C. Adams, H. Poole, Lionel Vibert, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1936.

BRETHREN,

The total membership of the Lodge remains at 24, the same figure as last year.

We have once more to report a reduction in the membership of the Correspondence Circle. On the 30th November, 1935, we had a total of 3,127. Sixty-six were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription, 110 resigned, and we lost 71 by death. On the other hand, the number added during the year was only 192, on balance a loss of 55, bringing the total to carry forward 3,072. We can only repeat what we said last year as to the very difficult position in which we are placed by this continual shrinkage.

During the year Part iii. of Vol. xlv. and Part i. of Vol. xlvi. were issued. The latter part contains the *Transactions* of three meetings instead of two, and the Volume will be completed in a second Part which is now well advanced. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge approximately £1,100 has been reserved for each of Vols. xlvii., xlviii. and xlix. Subscriptions amounting to £540 9s. 11d. are still owing; but, as in last year, a considerable proportion of this amount is held at our credit in Australasia and cannot be remitted home at the present rate of exchange without serious loss.

Our various proposals for further publication of Pamphlets and Leaflets are still held up for want of the necessary funds. But a brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has again been drawn up and circulated to all members; this includes a complete list of Local Secretaries.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to these Brethren who continue to do much good work. In New South Wales, Bro. E. G. Moon, Librarian to the Grand Lodge, has now replaced the late Bro. Rowbotham. We welcome the following Brethren who have all taken charge of districts where we were hitherto unrepresented:—Bros. P. J. Crawley in Shropshire, F. R. Radice in Bedfordshire, F. E. Gould in Devon West, E. E. Klatscher in Czechoslovakia, and N. B. Hickox in Indiana. Durham has been divided into North and South; and Bro. Herdman Rae has taken over the Northern area, Bro. Selby continuing in charge in the South. In Egypt, Bro. Ivor Grantham,

who was doing valuable work for us, has unfortunately had to come home for reasons of health, and Bro. R. R. Brewis has replaced him. We regret to have to report that we have lost by death our Local Secretary for many years in Manitoba, Bro. Dr. R. S. Thornton, and that the following have resigned:—Bro. B. F. Porter in Nova Scotia, whose place has been taken by Bro. A. R. Prince; the Rev. W. S. Hildesley in Notts.; Bro. J. H. Chalmers in Malta; and Bro. B. W. Hartigan in Texas. These latter districts, as well as several others as shown in the printed list, are for the present without any representative.

For the Committee,

GEORGE ELKINGTON,

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNTS

for the year ending 30th November, 1936.

| RECEIPTS. | | | | EXPENDITURE. | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|-------|-------|------------------------------|-----|-------|-------|
| | | £ | s. d. | | | £ | s. d. |
| To Cash in Hand | ... | 59 | 4 2 | By Lodge | ... | 42 | 9 0 |
| „ Lodge | ... | 45 | 3 0 | „ Salaries, Rent, Rates, and | | | |
| „ Joining Fees | ... | 100 | 5 6 | Taxes | ... | 604 | 3 8 |
| „ Subscriptions: 1936 | ... | 1101 | 7 5 | „ Lighting, Heating, Clean, | | | |
| „ do. 1935 | ... | 156 | 16 1 | ing, Telephone, Insurance, | | | |
| „ do. 1934 | ... | 41 | 14 10 | Carriage, and Sundries... | | 97 | 1 8 |
| „ do. 1933 | ... | 8 | 18 6 | „ Printing, Stationery, etc. | | 847 | 18 10 |
| „ do. 1932 | ... | 2 | 12 6 | „ Medals | ... | 26 | 13 9 |
| „ do. 1931 | ... | 10 | 6 | „ Binding | ... | 28 | 15 3 |
| „ Cash for Subscriptions in | | | | „ Sundry Publications | ... | 57 | 9 6 |
| advance and unappro- | | | | „ Library | ... | 13 | 11 7 |
| priated | ... | 97 | 9 11 | „ Postages | ... | 181 | 17 7 |
| „ Medals | ... | 29 | 9 4 | „ Local Expenses | ... | 5 | 8 9 |
| „ Binding | ... | 48 | 10 2 | „ Furniture | ... | 2 | 12 6 |
| „ Sundry Publications | ... | 185 | 13 8 | „ Cash in Bank | ... | 67 | 8 11 |
| „ Interest and Discounts | ... | 39 | 9 3 | | | | |
| „ Publication Fund | ... | 58 | 6 2 | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | £1975 | 11 0 | | | £1975 | 11 0 |

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. Rev. H. POOLE.

Jewels, formerly the property of David Moncrieff.

Pierced, silver, circular, with red collar ribbon. Various craft emblems; on Ob. Initials D.M. No other inscription except a central G inside the five pointed star.

Pear-shaped, silver, with green collar ribbon. "The Freemason form'd out of the materials of his Lodge. The Mysteries that here are shown are only to a mason known". This inscribed round the figure as in the Cole engraving. Above: No. 310 Ancient. Rv., Emblems arranged very much after the fashion of the John Cole designs of 1801. *A.Q.C.*, xxix., 281. No. 310 was consecrated at Blackburn in 1797 and is now Benevolence No. 226.

Silver, circular, green collar ribbon. Obv. craft emblems. "We live on the Square". Round Margin "Sola Concordia fratrum". Rv. Antients R.A. and pillars "Sit lux et lux fuit". Below the altar, H Z J; no pentagram or hexagram.

Silver, oval, green collar ribbon. "Sit lux et Lux fuit". Emblems which include arch with a keystone, ark, bridge, coffin with scythe, heart and dagger, and what looks like a figure 8, with a small vertical line above, balanced by another inside a square frame. Obv. Broken arch and altar, V.S.L., hand holding a flower spray, and others not clear. No inscriptions.

By Bro. MILBOURN, Montreal.

Photograph of certificate of entering, passing and raising of Bro. Edward Gray, in the Lodge held on board the Vanguard. Signed by Dunckerley, October, 1760, as Master.
Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS.

A collection of Ballads. Printed for J. Roberts [etc.] 1723.

The preface contains the passage

The Ballad Makers are a more ancient, more numerous and more noble Society than the boasted Freemasons; and Duke upon Duke will witness that People of considerable fashion have thought it no disgrace to enroll themselves in this Worshipful Society.

No other masonic reference in the work.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for Exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. Rev. H. POOLE then read the text of the recently discovered Manuscript, and the following paper:—

THE GRAHAM MANUSCRIPT.

BY BRO. THE REV. H. POOLE.



THE Manuscript, which it is my privilege to introduce to you this evening, is in my opinion the most important document which we possess among the material surviving for the student of Masonry from the 'ritual' point of view.

It was exhibited, at his initiation during the middle of last year, by the Rev. H. I. Robinson, Rector of Londesborough, near York; and to Bro. Brian Shaw, Librarian of Eboracum Lodge, York, to whom it soon afterwards found its way, belongs the credit for recognising it as of more than ordinary importance and interest, and for sending it up to us for a diagnosis.

That diagnosis is by no means easy to give. The document is so revolutionary in the way in which it cuts across so many firmly established notions, that it may be a very long time before we are able to form any adequate judgment as to its real position and, one may fairly say, the truth about certain matters which have, so far, never been called in question. And I am putting it before you now, without anything approaching a real estimate of the results which its evidence is likely to effect upon our Masonic knowledge, because I consider that its publication is bound to stimulate some very hard thinking, and in order that more students may have the opportunity of getting to work on its problems.

The document consists of two sheets, each $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 13 inches, folded in two along the greater length, making four 'sides', each $16\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. The text is written across the front side only of the pages so formed, the first two written pages being on one sheet, and the third written page on the second; one line only, due to a false start for the third page, is found on the inner page of the second sheet.

The date is actually stated near the conclusion of the text; but unfortunately it is written in a somewhat ambiguous form as

2
1 7 6

We might reasonably accept this as 1726, were it not that the authorities at both the British Museum and the Public Record Office, to whom the MS. was shown, were with only one exception (and that afterwards withdrawn) inclined to date the handwriting as of considerably earlier—by perhaps as much as 50 years. The re-arrangement of the figures as 1672 would, in fact, give a result in closer agreement with the handwriting. Such a proceeding would, however, be an unpardonable liberty, unless some justification were found; and I can only suggest the analogy of a date carved on a stone in front of an old house in the form

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 2 | |
| 1 | | 6 |
| | 7 | |

Information as to any such inscription would be welcome; and, if it indicated a local convention, might even help to fix the source of the document. It is hardly relevant, but is worth mentioning, as it is a *bona fide* Masonic occurrence, that a German medal commemorating a visit of Swedish Brethren to Stralsund in 1763 shows the date in the form

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & 3 & \\ 5 & - & 7 \\ & 6 & \end{array}$$

Meantime, although we may well bear in mind the possibility of an earlier date, we may certainly not, at present, draw any conclusion on any basis but that of 1726; but I hasten to add that, even with the latter date, the revolutionary character of the MS. is hardly diminished. I should add, also, that both paper and watermark are quite consistent with either date, 1672 or 1726; and that the authorities consulted expressed complete confidence as to the genuineness of the document.

Little is to be discovered as to the place of origin. Bro. Robinson¹ found the MS. among papers which had belonged to his father, also a Mason; but beyond the facts that his great-grandfather and the latter's brother, both Scotsmen and Masons, lived their active lives in the neighbourhoods of Annan, Dumfriesshire and Blackburn, Lancs., respectively, while his father's ministry was mainly in Northumberland, we have no further information as to possible sources.

Before referring to the peculiarities of the contents, it will be as well to say something of the textual relationships of the document. First, then, it is very closely related to a broadsheet of 1725, entitled *The Whole INSTITUTIONS of FREE-MASONS OPENED*, which bears the imprint of "William Wilmot on the Blind-Key 1725". All that this conveys can be gathered from the following extract from Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*:—

Wilmot (William), printer in Dublin, 1724-7. He printed in 1724 two books, two pamphlets against Wood's halfpence, an almanac, and other pieces, and in 1727 Whalley's *Advice from the stars*, &c. He died intestate in this year. He may be the ——— Wilmot whom Negus mentions as printing in London in 1724.

This print, in its turn, has several points of contact with yet another, the *Grand Mystery Laid Open*, of 1726, locality unknown. This print at first sight appears to be a pure 'freak', with nonsensical names for anything and everything; but it contains enough that agrees with other sources to prove its fundamentally genuine Masonic character, and its evidence will in due course be brought to bear on the problems relating to the *Graham MS.*

¹ "Masonic Ancestry" of the Rev. H. I. Robinson.

Rev. Wm. Hardie Moncrieff:—Minister of Annan. b. 1761, d. 1824. First Principal Royal Caledonian Chapter, 1796.

David Moncrieff:—b. 1771, d. 1834 at Hawick. Red Cross Lodge, No. 201. Ancient. Sir Knight Templar, 1807.

Geo. David Rome:—d. 1854. First J.W. of Lodge Caledonian, 1811.

Rev. Geo. Robinson:—b. 1846. Initiated 1877, Albert Edward Lodge, No. 1557, Hexham.

Very roughly one-eighth of the text of the *Graham MS.* is to be found very exactly in the printed *Whole Institutions*. So exactly, indeed, that one is at first tempted to suspect that the latest possible date (1726) for the former must be the correct one, and that Thomas Graham had a copy of the broadsheet beside him. Two considerations, however, seem to rule this out. In the first place, the *Graham MS.* is certainly a copy of another document, but that document was equally certainly *not* itself a copy of the *Whole Institutions*. The principal evidence for copying is to be found on the fourth page, the single line on which reads:—

“on Every so all this contened darke and obscure while the following days of his”

It is not difficult to reconstruct, more or less completely, what happened at the conclusion of page 2. This page ended with the words “gultie of blood wars being”, and accordingly the writer started the next page with “on Every . . .”. The dipping of the pen caused him to omit the concluding word “side”; and he started the next sentence quite correctly with “so all”; but, in turning to his source, he inadvertently picked up the words “so all” about five or six lines back, and went on writing “so all this contened darke and obscure while the . . .”. At his next reference to the original, he hit the right “while the . . .”, a few lines below the other; copied “Sollomon” as “following”, and reproduced “days of Sollomon his . . .” as “following days of his . . .”; then, realising his mistake, he started a fresh page with the correct “So all refered . . .”; and finally, observing that he had now omitted the closing “on every side” of the previous sentence, he entered it at the foot of page 2. I think there can be no reasonable doubt that this was substantially what happened; and, besides the inference that his original may well have been appreciably earlier in date, we can fairly assume that he had a complete text beside him to copy, and that no copy of the printed *Whole Institutions* was used by him.

At least one other indication of copying appears, in the passage relating to King Solomon’s trouble with the labourers. Here we read:—

“for to call me all and to make all things easie . . .”

The original reading was fairly obviously ‘to calme all’; and the variation which we find is, at any rate, most easily explained as an example of mis-copying.

The other reason which prevents our supposing that the writer had a copy of the print beside him, and used it to work up his own text, lies in the very different structures of the two, and the way in which the printed material, though in places identical, is embedded in the MS. in what one might almost call a casual way, in a different order, and sometimes even in a different context. The two documents, indeed, supplement one another in a rather remarkable manner; for the print, as might be expected, evidently sets out to reveal little more than the secrets; while the MS., though doubtless intended only for private use, is very careful to omit them. I need hardly point out, in the first few lines, the initials I (or J, for the writer does not distinguish between them) and B, which are evidently intended to conceal something; while the “name as is known to free masonry to this day” is very discreetly withheld; and a very tantalising series of blanks deprives us of the thirteen words at the end.

The precise relationship between MS. and print must, I think, for the present, be left to conjecture; but I think it is probably safe to say that each is a fairly near descendant from a single original which was more complete in some respects than either, though it may not have contained all the matter found in the *Graham MS.*

Of this matter, some appears here only; but there are several cases where parallels are to be found in other extant documents. One of these is the *Dumfries No. 4 MS.* The phrase:—

“nether siting standing goeing runing rideing hinging nor flying
naked nor cloathed shode nor bairfoot”

is echoed in the *Dumfries*:—

“neither sitting nor standing nor running nor going but on my left
knee”,

and we have no other early parallels. Again, the only other early allusion, which we know, to the ‘sign’ which was to distinguish Mason from labourer at the pay-desk at the building of King Solomon’s Temple occurs in the *Dumfries MS.* Here we have:—

“Q which way came ye W first about A it was given to King david by
report qn he was hewing ye stones in ye mount to know ye workmen
from ye labourers . . .”




Another source in which we find an allusion otherwise unknown and somewhat parallel to matter in the *Graham MS.* is the *Mason’s Confession*, printed in 1755, but professing with reasonable plausibility to relate to an admission in 1727. Here we have:—

“Q. How many levels are there in your Lodge? A. Three.
Q. What are these three? A. The sun, and the sea and the level.
—N.B. I can give no reason why the sun and the sea are called two
of their levels, but so they will have it”.

A phrase in the *Graham MS.*—“to obey God and all true squares made or sent from a brother”—is more fully dealt with in the *Confession*:—

“if one were in a company, and to send for another mason, he does it
by sending a piece of paper, with a square point folded in at the
corner, and suppose he squeeze it all in his hand, when it is opened
out, the mark where the square point was folded in, is the thing that’s
noticed”.

We have, however, an earlier, though not really more lucid, reference to the usage, whatever it was, in the *Trinity College, Dublin MS.*, of 1711:—

“To send for a brother the signes are these    ”;

while the *Sloane 3329 MS.*, possibly a little earlier, says:—

“Anoth^r. signe is by lending you a crooked pin or a bit of pap^r. cut
in the forme of a Square on receipt of w^{ch}. you must come from w^t.
place or company soever you are in by virtue of your oath. . . .”

A rather later reference, though still previous to 1726, is to be found in a printed source, in a satire entitled “The Freemason”, of 1723¹:—

“A mason when he needs must drink
Sends letters without pen and ink
Unto some brother who’s at hand
And does the message understand:
The paper’s of the shape that’s square,
Thrice folded with the utmost care”.

¹ *Misc. Lat.*, xvi., 56, from which I quote, and where the folding is fully explained.

I may add, parenthetically, that I have quoted these extracts in order to emphasise the remarkable way in which almost *all* our early sources, both MS. and printed, are linked by close resemblances in detail; the inference being that all are of a genuine Masonic character, although they also indicate wide differences in practice.

Most of the other details in the *Graham* MS. which are found in other early sources are common to too many to be worth mentioning in detail. It will be sufficient to point out that the explicit reference to "od numbers" is paralleled only in the *Grand Mystery*, printed in 1724; while "craveing your name" occurs elsewhere only in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, of 1730. On the other hand, we have here the earliest appearances of two phrases which are often found later; one is the combination of "entered, passed and raised", and the other a reference to the "heart that conceals and the tongue that never reveals".

It will have been noticed that the only two sources which have parallels which are in any way peculiar are the *Dumfries* No. 4 MS. and the *Mason's Confession*; the latter, by the way, professing to be an account of doings at "D-----". There are several features of the latter document which fairly strongly suggest a connection with the former; and it would not be unreasonable to hazard a guess that Dumfries was the place indicated. And, bearing in mind the localities suggested by the Masonic antecedents of the present owner of the *Graham* MS., I am inclined to suspect that it was in the neighbourhood of Annan that it had its origin. It might be added that in no source besides the *Dumfries* MS. do we find anything at all resembling what I may perhaps be allowed to call the 'biblical background' of the *Graham* MS.; although the 'covering letter', printed with the *Confession* in 1755, speaks in no measured terms of "nonsense (and that with this aggravation, of profaning the sacred scriptures, by intermixing them therewith)" as practised in several places in the East of Scotland at a rather later date.

But, that our problem may not be too easy, it must be borne in mind that irregular working, such as the Highrodiam and Forin degrees of Gateshead, of 1746, must have flourished very early in Northumberland; while the close relation between the *Graham* MS. and the Dublin print points rather to Lancashire among the three more probable sources.

So far, all has been fairly plain sailing: we now come to some very problematical matters concerning the contents of the document. These relate on the one hand to the biblical incidents referred to, and on the other to the 'secrets', though the two are not independent.

As to the first, it is worth mentioning, as of possible significance, that of the three principal incidents—those concerned with Noah, Bezaleel and Solomon—two bear no relation whatever to those occurring in the historical section of the Old Charges.

With regard to Bezaleel, there is little to say, save that we have here the earliest known reference (Masonic, at any rate) to a tradition which, so far as I know, now survives only in a more or less casual item in the ritual of what is probably the senior of the 'outside degrees', that he was "so Called of God before conceived in the womb".

It is when we turn back to the incident of the three sons of Noah that we are confronted with the greatest problem of all. And here, before going into detail, may I be allowed to recall the fact that, previous to the publication of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* in 1730, we meet with such a complete absence of reference to the Hiram story, which he there prints in full detail, that many

students have seriously maintained that it was not invented until about that date, and then perhaps even by Prichard himself. One solitary reference, from a newspaper cutting, was quoted by Bro. Sadler in his Inaugural Address in 1910.¹ This was a 'skit' on Masonry, and referred, among many other things, to "the Widow's Son killed by the Blow of a Beetle, afterwards found three Foot East, three Foot West, and three Foot perpendicular", as well as to "cassia, and mossy Graves". The date attached to this fragment is 1726; but unfortunately there seems to be no chance of verifying it, as we do not know from what newspaper it was taken. All we can say is that if that date was correct, the Hiram story must have been fully developed at least four years before Prichard printed it.

Here is Prichard's version of the relevant portion of the story:—

"Fifteen Loving brothers, by order of King Solomon, went out of the west door of the temple, and divided themselves from right to left within call of each other; and they greed that if they did not find the word in him or about him, the first word should be the master's word; one of the brothers being more weary than the rest, sat down to rest himself, and taking hold of a shrub, which came down easily enough, and perceiving the Ground to have been broken, he hailed his brethren, and pursuing their search found him decently buried in a handsome grave six foot east, six west, and six foot perpendicular, and his covering was green moss and turf, which surprised them; whereupon they replied, *Musculus Domus Dei Gratia*, which, according to Masonry, is, Thanks be to God, our master has got a mossy house. So they covered him closely, and as a further ornament placed a sprig of Cassia at the Head of his grave, and went and acquainted King Solomon.

What did King Solomon say to all this?

He ordered him to be taken up and decently buried, and that fifteen Fellow-crafts with white gloves and aprons should attend his Funeral (which ought amongst Masons to be performed to this Day).

How was Hiram raised?

As all other Masons are, when they receive the Master's Word.

How is that?

By the five points in Fellowship.

What are they?

Hand to hand 1, Foot to foot 2, Cheek to cheek 3, Knee to knee 4, and hand in Back 5.

N. B. When Hiram was taken up, they took him by the Fore-fingers, and the Skin came off, which is called the Slip; the spreading the Right Hand and placing the middle Finger to the Wrist, clasping the Fore-finger, and the Fourth to the Sides of the Wrist; is called the Gripe, and the Sign is placing the Right Hand to the Left Breast extending the Fingers".

Now here, in the *Graham MS.*, which cannot be later than 1726, we have substantially the same story told in connection with an entirely different occasion. Actually it is more complete, as the 'master's word' is revealed, though it is far from obvious. Let me quote from the passage:—

"Now these 3 men had allready agreed that if they did not find the very thing it self that *the first thing that they found was to be to them as a Secret* . . .

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 325.

So one said here is yet *marow in this bone* and the second said but a dry bone and the third said it stinketh so they agreed for to give it a name as is known to free masonry to this day''.

It was not until I compared the document with the *Whole Institutions*, and found, among the explanations of the secrets

“magboe and Boe signifies Marrow in the Bone”

that I realised that we had here the secret itself as well as the explanation of how it came about.

We have here, in fact, at a date perhaps identical with, but possibly considerably earlier than, that of our earliest positive reference to the Hiram story, a full-blown variant of the same story. And if we take into account the strong probabilities that Thomas Graham himself was copying from a document already written, and that both this and the printed *Whole Institutions* were derived from at least one still earlier, it seems difficult to date that original back to much later than, say, 1720.

Moreover, the close association with both stories of what the *Graham MS.* calls the “five points of free Masons fellowshipe” tends, I consider, to emphasise (what some students have refused to admit) the probability that that close association existed all the time, and that the story is at least as old as the ‘points’. And these ‘points’, though in a form perhaps already corrupt, for ‘ear to ear’ is among them, are known to us in a document of as early as 1696, in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*; while variants of the word ‘Marrow-Bone’ or whatever the exact original was, occur in both the *Sloane 3329 MS.*, of early eighteenth century, and the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.*, of 1711.

But what are we to make of the Noah story itself? It is almost impossible to believe that this document could have been merely a ‘skit’, though at first sight the printed *Whole Institutions* might be suspect, as, indeed, must any printed matter of the kind, as having been through profane hands; it can hardly have been a deliberately misleading ‘exposure’, as we have no trace of a complete print of it, and, moreover, the secrets are carefully withheld.

Were there already schisms among Masons? The full extract from the print on the subject of the secret suggests that there may have been:—

“Magboe and Boe signifies Marrow in the Bone, so is our Secret to be Concealed.—Tho’ there is different opinions of this, but I prove this the truest Construction”.

In this connection, we must not overlook a passage in the *Graham MS.* which occurs in the preamble to the Noah episode:—

“for I hop all will allow that all things needfull for the new world was in the ark with noah”

This is nothing less than a flat contradiction of the statement of the Old Charges, which had the authority of the Chroniclers behind it, that the knowledge of the Arts and Sciences was preserved only by its being carved on two pillars, one of which was discovered after the Flood. There is thus a definite heresy, and therefore possibly a schism, indicated in the *Graham MS.*

Is it possible that we have here an earlier version of the story, which was later (say, during the seventeenth century) transferred to Hiram? It may perhaps be relevant that Anderson, in the second edition (1738) of the *Book of Constitutions*, states that Noachidae, or Sons of Noah, was “The first Name of

Masons, according to some old Traditions''.¹ He also introduces the term into the first of the Old Charges²:—

“ A MASON is obliged by his Tenure to observe the Moral Law, as a true *Noachida* ”;

and later in the same Charge refers to “ the 3 great *Articles* of NOAH ”. The name is again used in Brother Euclid’s Letter, printed at the end of the book³; and the only other reference I can find is of some 16 years later, in Slade’s *Free Mason Examined* (perhaps an ‘inspired publication’?), where Anderson’s statement is repeated. It may also be of significance that the newspaper cutting which I have already quoted bears the heading “ ANTEDILUVIAN MASONRY ” suggesting that it may have been inspired by a rival body deriving itself from immediately after the Flood; such a body might well have adopted the Noah story. It is very tempting to suppose that this story is the earlier of the two; and that survivals had come to Anderson’s notice between 1723 and 1738.⁴ But, considering the very wide distribution of Masonry, it is difficult to believe that such a change-over would have been possible.

Was the whole thing an ignorant attempt to reconstruct from the vaguest recollections of detail? Or a deliberate hoax? If the locality was Dumfriesshire, it is worth recalling that we know of some irregular goings-on of about twenty years later, which were the occasion of correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Scotland. But, though the writer of the letter from Dumfries seems to have pointed out that “ they knew nothing of the true aire and spirit of masonry ”,⁵ he does not suggest that the impostors, who were working clandestine degrees in the neighbourhood, were not using the orthodox ‘ritual’.

I cannot answer these questions. The answer, if ever to be forthcoming, will require more than mere hard thinking; it will involve the focussing upon this new problem of every possible scrap of our decidedly meagre evidence, unless some fresh find is made which throws direct light upon it. One thing seems to me to be settled beyond any reasonable doubt—that the Hiram story, and perhaps the Noah variant too, was known in the Craft in its amplest form at least 21 years before the formation of the Grand Lodge of England. And if so, then, as Bro. R. F. Gould has said on the same subject,⁶ “ there is practically no limit whatever of age that can be assigned to it ”.

I pass now to the last series of problems, those presented by the ‘ words ’. Actually only one such secret, if it was one, is revealed in the *Graham MS.*; but we may, I might fairly say must, consider the printed *Whole Institutions* at the same time.

The one secret revealed here is what the writer calls the “ foundation words ”, where the agreement with the print is curiously exact:—

“ o come Let us and you shall have ”.

I can make nothing of this, unless possibly they are merely an abbreviation for the prayer which is given in fuller form a few lines further on:—

“ O come, let us (build true, high and square)
And you shall have (the praise) ”.

¹ *B. of C.* (1728), p. 4

² *ib.*, p. 143.

³ *ib.*, p. 227.

⁴ Bro. Lewis Edwards, in his paper on Anderson’s *Book of Constitutions* (*A.Q.C.*, xlv.), quotes and has some interesting comments on the earliest known reference to the term “ Noachidae ” in Masonic circles, which perhaps indicates a very different source for Anderson’s statement.

⁵ *A.Q.C.*, xxxv., 51.

⁶ *Concise Hist.* (Revised Ed.), p. 222.

It is just possible that they may be the opening words of some conventional prayers or psalms used at foundation laying, used much as we refer to, for example, the 95th Psalm (which also, by the way, starts "O come let us") as the 'Venite'. The reference, however, has a further interest, in pointing (so it seems to me) to the survival up to that very date, or not long before, of a live superstition of the very kind which led to the 'foundation sacrifice'. It is worth mentioning that here again we find the only parallel (though not a close one) in the *Dumfries No. 4* MS.:—

"Q. who was master masson at ye building of ye temple

A. Hiram of tyre

Q. who laid the first stone in ye foundation of ye temple

A. ye abovesaid Hiram

Q. what did he say qn he laid it

A. help ys God "

The other words found in the print are completely eliminated in the MS., which preserves only a vague outline of the explanations. The final paragraph of the latter, however, runs on totally different lines, and seems to refer to something totally different. Here we find a reference to 13 words, arranged in three groups, of 1—6—6:—

"a word for adeveine six for the clargey and 6 for the fellow craft "

These are evidently the 13 words so discreetly omitted at the very end of the text; and, in the absence of the help which they might have given, I can make no suggestions whatever.

The print, on the other hand, gives us an equally puzzling, but entirely different and differently grouped series, evidently of 2—2—2. The "Primitive Word", it says:—

"was God in six Terminations, to wit I am, and Johova is the answer to it, . . . or else Excellent and Excellent, Excellency is the Answer to it, . . . or else Tapus Majester, and Majester Tapus is the answer to it . . ."

It is here that we come to the points of contact with the *Grand Mystery Laid Open*, of 1726. For here we find, among other mysteries by no means laid open, that the Square is called:—

"' Wholly Powu Tigwawtubby ' which signifies the Excellency of Excellencies "

which so strikingly tallies with the second group of the 'primitive words' of the *Whole Institutions*.

Another close agreement will be duly noticed later; meantime there is also what looks like a fairly close parallel between this queer document and the *Graham MS.* itself. The latter, speaking of the "five points of free Masons fellowship", says:—

"yet takes thire strength from five primitive one devine and four temporall "

which bears a curious resemblance to the signs of a true Free-Mason according to the *Grand Mystery*. These are "distinguish'd into Spiritual and Temporal", there being three Temporal and six Spiritual. The description of the latter is interesting: they "are not divulged to any new admitted Member, because they are Cabalistical"; and they turn out to be the same five 'points' of the *Graham MS.*, with the addition of "Face to Face".

One more major problem, and we are done. When describing his entry, in answer to the question "what was behind you?" the writer says:—

"perjury and hatred of Brotherhood for ever if I discover our secrets without the consent of a Lodge *Except that have obtained a trible voice by being entered passed and raised and conformed by 3 severall Lodges*"

The problematical features of this passage are so obvious that it is hardly necessary to state them; but certainly not the least is the inference that the completion of a triple process, whatever it was, entitled the Mason then, but not till then, to "discover our secrets *without* the consent of a Lodge". Before considering the significance of this, we may well look for a parallel in the *Whole Institution*. There is no exact equivalent; but we do find a series of three 'words' with their answers, as well as their appropriate answers. These are:—

First: Jachin, answered by Boaz

Second: Magboe, answered by Boe

Third: Gibboram, answered by Esimberel

The first pair are explained as the names of two pillars made by "Hierom"; the second pair have already been dealt with; Gibboram is given no explanation, and "Simber signifies the Gibonites, who built the City of Simellon". Here again I can offer no suggestion; and none seems to be offered by the parallel passage in the *Grand Mystery Laid Open*, which is very closely related. Here the three "Temporal" signs are given as follows, the grips described being almost identical with those of the *Whole Institutions*:—

"The first is a Grip of the two first fingers, and is called Jacbin and Boaz; the second is a Grip by the Wrist and called Gibboram and Gibberun; the third is a Grip by the Elbow and is called Thimbulum and Timbulum".

I fancy it is fair to equate "Thimbulum" with the "Esimberel" of the other print; and if so we are presented with the same threefold series, but with the second pair wanting, the second and third places being occupied by the two parts of the third pair, each practically duplicated, and one of them in a definitely corrupt form.

Before I close, may I collect here some of the minor puzzles which confront us in the MS. and the closely-related prints:—

the identities of "King Alboyne" and his two brothers

"the secret titles and primitive pallies of the God head"

The source (if any) of the somewhat cryptic names for people and things in the *Grand Mystery Laid Open* (possibly anagrams)

"chanceing Master" (possibly related to the name "Oakecharing a Tochology" of the *Grand Mystery*)

and lastly

"outher Enquam Ebo" (which contains material for at least one interesting anagram)

And now, Brethren, I have done my part for the present, in this attempt to clear the ground and indicate the main problems. I have enumerated by no means all of the riddles: I have solved none. It has been my very great privilege as it were to open a debate: this concludes my opening speech, and I look forward to a long and interesting debate.

APPENDIX.

The documents reproduced below were in the collection of the late Bro. A. M. Broadley and are Nos. 65, 66 of Dring:—

A.

The Whole
I N S T I T U T I O N S
of
FREE-MASONS OPENED.
As also their Words and Signs.
First,

Observe that all Squares is Signs according to every Subject in Handling, proved by the 7th Verse of the 6th Chap. of the First of Kings.

The Salutation as follows.

From whence came You—Answer, I came from a right worshipful Lodge of Masters and Fellows belonging to Holy St. John, who doth greet all perfect Brothers of our Holy Secret, so do I you, if you be one.—I greet you well Brother, God's Greeting be at our Meeting, what is your Name answer Jachin.

The Examination as follows.

How shall I know you are a Free-Mason.—By true Words and Tokens at my Entering. What was the first Point of your Entering a willing desire to know what I now know.—How were you made a Mason.—By a true and perfect Lodge.—What Lodge are you of, answer St. John. How Stands a Lodge.—South, East and West. How many Lights belongs to a Lodge.—Twelve, what are they. Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Sun, Moon, Master, Mason, Square, Rule, Plum, Line, Mell and Cheisal.—Who is Master of all Lodges, God, and the Square.—In what Posture did you receive our Secret Words.—Kneeling with Square and Compass at my Breast.

WHAT were you Sworn to.—For to Heal and Conceal.—What other Tenor did your Oath carry.—For to help all perfect Brothers, of our Holy Secret fellow Craft or not.—What is your foundation Words.—Come let us, and you shall have—

What mean you by these Words.—We differ from the Babylonians who did presume to Build to Heaven, but we pray the blessed Trinity to let us build True, High, and Square, and they shall have the praise to whom it is due.

Your first word is Jachin and Boaz is the answer to it, and Grip at the forefinger Joint.—Your 2d word is Magboe and Boe is the answer to it, and Grip at the Wrist.

(2) Your 3d Word is Gibboram, Esimberel is the Answer—and Grip at the Elbow, and Grip at the Rein of the Back, and then to follow with the five Points of Free Masons fellowship, which is Foot to Foot, Knee to Knee, Breast to Breast, Cheek to Cheek, and Hand to Back; these five Points hath reference to the five principal Signs, which is Head, Foot, Body, Hand and Heart.

The Explanation of our Secrets, is as follows.

Jachin and Boaz, two Pillars made by Heirom Jachin, signifies Strength, and Boaz Beautiful, Magbo and Boe signifies Marrow in the Bone, so is our Secret to be Concealed.—Tho' there is different opinions of this, yet I prove this the truest Construction.—Gibboram, and Simber signifies the Gibonites, who built the City of Simellon.

For proof of our two Pillars you may read the 7th Chapter of the 1st of Kings from the 13th Verse to the 22nd, where you will find the wonderful Works of Heirome at the building the House of the Lord.

The reason why Masonary receiv'd a secret, was, because the building the House of the Lord pleas'd his Divine Majesty; it could not well go amiss, being they wrought for so good a Master. And had the wisest Man on Earth to be their Overseer.—Therefore in some parts by Merit, yet more by free Grace, they obtain'd a Name, and a new Command, such as Christ gave his Disciples, for to love each other, keep well the Key that lies into a Box of Bone, adieu Brother.

Yet for all this I want the primitive Word, I answer it was God in fix Terminations, to wit I am, and Johova is the answer to it, and Grip at the Rein of the Back, or else Excellent and Excellent, Excellency is the Answer to it, and Grip as aforesaid, or else Tapus Majester, and Majester Tapus is the answer to it, and Grip as aforesaid, for proof read the first of the first of St. John.

Printed by William Wilmot at the Blind-Key, 1725.

B.

THE
GRAND MYSTERY LAID OPEN,
or the
FREE-MASONS
Signs and Word discovered.

All Secrets till they once are known,
Are wonder'd at by every one,
But when once known we cease to wonder,
Tis Equal then to [wind] or Thunder.

When any Person is admitted a Member into this noble and Ancient Fraternity, He is instructed to answer to the following Questions, viz.

How many Signs has a true Free-Mason, Nine, which are distinguish'd into Spiritual and Temporal. How many Temporal Signs are there? Three. The first is a Grip by the two first Fingers, and is call'd Jachin and Boaz; the second is a Grip by the Wrist, and called Gibboam and Gibberum; the third is a Grip by the Elbow and is called Thimbulum and Timbulum. Have the six Spiritual Signs any Names? Yes, but are not divulged to any new admitted Member, because they are Cabalistical? What are these Signs, The first is Foot to Foot, the second is Knee to Knee, the third is Breast to Breast, the fourth is Hand to Back, the fifth is Cheek to Cheek, the sixth is Face to Face. Who is the Grand Master of all the Lodges in the World? I N R I. What is the meaning of that Name? Each distinct Letter stands for a whole Word, and is very mysterious. How is the Master of every particular Lodge called? Oake-charing a Tochology.

By what Name are all the Members distinguish'd? By the Name of Istowlawleys. Who is your Founder? God and the Square. What is God called? Laylah Illallah, which is there is no other God but God. What is the Square called? Whosly Powu Tigwawtubby which signifies the Excellency of Excellencies. What posture were you in when you receiv'd the secret Word? I sat on my Right Knee with the Holy Bible at my Breast. Why do you hold the Holy Bible at your Breast? for the Enjoyning Secrecy, and because in it is contained the Grand Secret of Masonry. Who was the first Mason? Laylah Illalah. Who invented the secret Word? Checchhabeddin Jatmouny. What is it? It is a Cabalistical Word composed of a Letter out of each of the Names of Laylah Illalah as mentioned in the Holy Bible.

Where sat King John in the Morning when he assembled the Society? He sat in the East Window of the Temple in a Chair of Marble waiting the rising Sun. where sat He in the Evening when He dismissed it? At the West End of the Temple in the same Chair waiting the setting Sun.

Why was St. John called King? Because He was Head of all the Christian Lodges, and from his Superior knowledge in the wonderfull Art of Masonry. What are the Day and Night made for? The Day is made for Man to see in, the Night is made for Man to hear in. What is the most useful Member? The Ear, because Men ought to hear more than they Speak. What are the Tools requisite for a Free-Mason? The Hammer and Trowel, the one to seperate, the other to join. What Names are given to them? Asphahani and Talagaica. By what Oath did you Swear to conceal

The whole Institutions of free Masonry opened and proved by
the best of tradition and still some referances to scriptures
first observed that all our signes is taken from the square according to
every subject in handling this is proved by the words of the 6 chapter
of first book of Kings —

The Salutation is as folloids — from whence came you —
I came from a right worshipfull Lodge of Masters and folloids belonging to
God and holy saint John who doth greet all true and perfect brothers of our
holy secrets so do you if you find you to be one —

I greet you well brother craving your name — I answer and the other is to say
This is B

The Examination is as folloids — How shall I know you are a free Mason —
By true words signes and tokens from my entering —

How word you made a free mason — By a true and perfect Lodge —
What is a perfect Lodge — the center of a true heart —

But how many masons is so called — any good number from 3 to 13 —
why so much and still having so numbers — apostles

still in referance from the blessed trinity to the coming of christ with his 12
what was the first step towards your entering —

awilling desire for to know the secrets of free masonry —

why was it called free masonry — first because a free gift of God to the
children of men secondly free from the interruption of infernal spirits thirdly
a free union amongst the brethren of that holy secret to remain for ever —

How came you into the Lodge — poor and penniless blind and ignorant of our secrets
some reason for that — in regard our saviour became poor for our redemption so
became poor at that time for the knowledge of God contracted in the square —

what did you see in the Lodge when you did see —

I saw truth the world and justice and brotherly love — where — before me —
what was behind you — perjury and hatred of Brotherhood for ever if I discover
our secrets without the consent of a Lodge except that have obtained a triple
voice by being entered passed and raised and confirmed by 3 severall Lodges and
not so except I take the party sworn to be true to our articles —

How stood your Lodge at your entering — East west and south —

why not north also — in regard we dwell at the north part of the world
we bury our dead at the north side of our churches so we carry a vacancy
at the north side of our Lodges — why east and west —

because churches stand east and west and porch to the south —

why doth churches stand east and west in four references + what are they +
 first our first parance was placed eastward in dom secondly the east window
 opened up the sea before the children of Israel so was the temple of the Lord to
 be builded thirdly those who dwell neare the Equinoctiall the sun riseth east
 and seteth west on them fourthly the stars appeared in the East that advertised
 both the shepheard and wise men that our saviour was come in the flesh
 who conducted you into the Lodge + the warden and oldest fellow craft
 why not the youngest fellow craft + in regard our saviour escorted the
 chiefe to sit at the table that being an exhortation to humility to be
 observed by us for ever + what posture did you pass your oath in +
 was neither sitting standing going running riding hinging nor flying naked
 nor cloathed shoes nor barefoot + a reason for such posture
 in regard one God one man makes a very christ so one naked object being
 half naked half cloathed half shoes half barefoot half kneeling half
 standing being half of all was none of the whole this sheweth a humble
 and obedient heart for to be a faithful follower of that just Jesus
 what word you sworn to + for to halo and conceal our secrets
 what other honour did your oath carry — my second was to obey God
 and all true square made or sent from a brother my third was never
 to steal lease I should offend God and shame the square my fourth
 was never to commit adultery with a brothers wife nor tell him
 a willfull lie my fifth was to desire no unjust revenge of a
 brother but love and relove him when its in my power and not
 hurting my self too far + I pass you had been in a lodge yet I
 demand how many lights belongs to a lodge + I answer 12 + what are they
 the first 3 jewels is father son holy ghost — sun moon master Mason
 square rule plumb line galle and chordall — prove all these
 as for the blessed trinity they afford reason as for the sun he ^{proves} all those
 light day and night as for the moon she is a dark body of water and ^{renders}
 both receive her light from the sun and is also queen of water
 which is the best of Leadalls as for the master mason he teaches
 the trade and ought to have a triple voice in teaching of our
 secrets if he be a bright man because we do be lords into
 a Supporitory power for all who ye had great power

yet the 11 had more for they chuse matthias in place of Judas as for square
 Rule & plumb line & mull and choise all they are six tools that no man can performe
 true work without the major part of them & what referance can be prest on the 12
 light & you draw referance from the 12 patriarchs and also from the 12 apostles
 word of at the 4 chapter of first king that they durst the molten sea of brass
 which was type of the 12 disciples way to be taught by christ — I ask you entered
 yet I demand if you were raised — yes I was — into what world — I was raised
 I was raised into knowledge of our primitive both by tradition and scriptures —
 what is your foundation words at the laying of a building where you respect
 that some infernall squandering spirit hath haunted and possible may shake
 your handy work — O come let us and you shall have — to whom do you speak
 to the blessed trinity in prayer & how do you administer these words & kneeling
 bare head face towards the east — what mean you by this expression thereof
 we mean that we forsake self righteousness and differ from those babalonians
 who presumed to build to babilon but we pray the blessed trinity to let us build true
 by and square and they shall have the praise to whom it is due —
 when was these words made or what need was for them — I answer into the prime
 before the gospell spread the world being incumbered with infernall squandering
 spirits except that men did build by faith and prayer their works were of a quite
 But how came that the works of the Babalonians stood before all this or yet the
 brightness of the gospell — yet by your own question answer you because
 the presumption of the Babalonians aforesaid had vexed the Godhead in so
 much the language was confounded for their sake so that no man kind for order
 was to do the like again without adding lianes which could not be had wout
 faith and prayer — Tradition that — we have it by tradition and still some
 referance to scripture cause shem ham and Japheth for to go to their father
 noahs grave for to try if they could find anything about him for to lead them
 to the vertuables secret which this famous preacher had for I hope all will
 allow that all things needfull for the new world was in the ark with noah
 Now these 3 men had already agreed that if they did not find the very thing
 it self that the first thing that they found was to be to them as a secret they not
 doubting but did most firmly believe that God was able and would allso provide
 willing through their faith prayer and obediance for to cause what they did
 find for to prove as vertuables to them as if they had received the secret at
 first from God himself at its head spring so came to the grave finding
 nothing save the dead body all most consumed away taking a grip at a finger
 it came away so from joint to joint so to the wrist so to the elbow so they
 appeared up the dead body and supported it spring foot to foot knee to knee
 breast to breast chock to chock and hand to back and cryed out
 help of father as if they had said O father of babilon help us now for our

Earthly father cannot ~~be~~ laid down the dead body again and not knowing what
 to do — the one said here is yet mawm in this bond and the second said but a
 dry bond and the third said it stinketh so they agreed for to give it a name
 as is known to free masonry to this day so went to their undertakings
 and after some works stood yet it is to be believed and all understood that
 the work did not proceed from what they found or how it was called but
 from faith and prayer so thus it continued the will pass for the dead
 while the reign of king alboynd then was born Bazallill who was so
 called of God before conceived in the and this holy man knew by inspiration
 that the secret titles and primitive pallies of the God head was preserved
 and he builded on them in so much that no infernal squandering spirit
 durst presume to shake his handy work so his works became so famous
 while the two younger brothers of the fore said king alboynd desired
 for to be instructed by him his noble afances by which he wrought
 to which he agreed conditionally they were not to discover it without a
 another to themselves to make a trible voice so they entered oath and
 he taught them the historick and the practick part of masonry and they did
 work — then was masons wages called up in that realm then was mason
 numbered with kings and princes yet near to the death of Bazallill he
 desired to be buried in the valley of Jehosaphat and have care over him
 according to his desiring which was performed by these two princes and this
 was care as follows — Here lye the flower of masonry superiour of many other
 companion to a king and to two princes a brother. Here lye the heart all secrets
 could conceale Here lye the tongue that never did reveal — now after his death
 the inhabitants there about did think that the secrets of masonry had been
 totally lost because they were no more heard of for none knew the secrets thereof
 save these two princes and they were so sworn at their entering not to discover it
 without another to make a trible voice yet it is to be believed and all understood
 stood that such a holy secret could never be lost while any good servant of God
 remained alive on the earth for every good servant of God had hath and always
 will have a great part of that holy secret altho they know it not themselves nor
 by what means to make use thereof for it hapened with the world at that time as it
 did with the Samaritan church about christ they were seeking for what
 they did not want But their deep ignorance could not disarne it
 so all this continued dark and obscure while the four hundred and
 four score of year after the children of Israel came out of the land of Egypt
 in the fourth year of Solomon's reigns over Israel that Solomon began to
 build the house of the Lord which his father David should have builded but was
 not admitted to performe it because his hands was guiltie of blood war being
 on every side —

So all referred while the days of Solomon his son that he be gunt to build the
 house of the Lord now I hope all men will give for granted that all things need full
 for carrying on of that holy edification was not holden from that wife king —
 to this we must all allow & we must charge God with injustice which no
 man will mortally dare presume to charge God with neither can his divine goodness
 be guilty of now we read at the 13 verse of the 1 chapter of first book of
 Kings that Solomon sent and got hiram out of Tyre he being quiddon son
 of the tribe of Naphtali and his father was a man of Tyre a worker in brass
 filled with wisdom and cunning to work all works in brass and he came to King
 Solomon and wrought all his work for him — the explanation of these
 verses is as follows — the word cunning renders ingenuity as for wisdom
 and understanding when they are both found in one person he can want
 nothing so by this present scripture must be allowed that the widow
 son whose name was hiram had a holy inspiration as well as the wife
 king Solomon or yet the holy Bazalliel — now it is holden forth by
 tradition that there was a tumult at this correction which should hapened
 between the laborers and masons about wages and for to call me all
 and to make all things equal the wife king should have said to all of
 you contented for you shall be payed all alike yet give signs to the
 Masons not known to the laborers and who could make that signs
 at the paying place was to be payed as masons the laborers not
 knowing thereof was payed as forsoaid — this might have been yet
 if it was so we are to judge very sorryfull on the words of the
 wife king Solomon for it is to be understood and also holden that
 the wife king meant according to every mans deserving yet the verse
 of the 6 chapter of first book of Kings broadens still further when it is
 said the house when it was in building was build of stone made
 ready before it was brought thither so that there was neither hammer
 nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house when it was in
 building — from whence may be gathered that all things was fitted
 afore hand yet not possible to be carryed on without amotion
 and when all things were sought from the horizon off the
 heavens to the plate form of the earth there could be nothing
 found more becoming more becoming then the square
 for to be their signs for to signify what they would have each
 other to do — so the work went on and prospered which could not

well go amiss being they wrought for so good a master and had the
 wisest man on earth for to be their door-keeper therefore in so parts by
 Merits yet Much more by free grace Masonry obtained an award
 and award command — their name doth signify strength and their
 answers beauty and their command for proofs hereof read the
 1 and 6 of first book of Kings where you will find the wonderfull
 works of Hiram at the building of the house of the Lord —
 So all being finished then was the secrets of free Masonry ordered
 a right as is now and will be to the E End of the world for such as
 do rightly understand it — in 3 parts in reference to the blessed
 trinity who made all things yet in 13 branches in reference to
 Christ and his 12 apostles which is as follows award for adorning
 sixe for the charge and 6 for the fellow craft and at the full and
 total agreement to follow with five points of free Masons fellowships
 which is foot to foot knee to knee breast to breast chook to chook
 and hand to back which five points hath reference to the five choise
 signs which is head foot body hand and heart and alle to the five
 points of architectur and alle to the five orders of Masonry yet taken
 three strength from five primitive ones divine and four temporall
 which is as follows first Christ the chiefe and Cornerston, secondly
 peter called to phus thirdly moses who called the command fourthly
 Bezaleel the best of Masons fifthly Hiram who was filled with
 wisdom and understanding — you first is

your second is
 your fourth is
 your sixth is
 your eighth is
 your tenth is
 your twelfth is

— your third is
 — your fifth is
 your seventh is
 your ninth is
 your eleventh is
 your thirteenth is —

So Graham Channing Master of Lodge outher Enquam Co
 October 24 1776 to all or any of our fraterinity that intend to
 learn by this

on Every so all this continued dark and obscure while the following days of his

the secret Word? By God, the Square, the King, and the Master. At the Installation of any Member the Person to be admitted drest with an Apron before Him, a Trowel in his right Hand, and a Hammer in his left, kneels on his right knee with a Bible on his Breast, supported by the Trowel, and in this Posture he Swears to keep secret the word and Signs by which a Free-Mason is known over all the World, the Privileges they enjoy by being admitted Members into this Ancient Society are very great, for a Member of any Lodge is oblig'd to Furnish another Member tho' of a different Lodge, with all Necessaries in his distress and support Him to the utmost of his Power.

Printed in the year 1726.

A hearty vote of thanks for his valuable paper was accorded to Bro. Poole on the proposition of Bro. S. J. Fenton, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump, D. Knoop, L. Edwards, G. Y. Johnson, J. Heron Lepper, R. H. Baxter, G. W. Bullamore, R. A. L. Harland, B. H. Harvey, and W. Jenkinson.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

In the first place I must offer my sincere congratulations to Bro. Poole for the way in which he has introduced the *Graham* MS. to us. His careful examination of the text and as careful conclusions drawn from it are so complete that little is left for any commentator to add, save applause and, perhaps, a few suggestions.

Any remarks I have to make should be prefaced by saying that I accept Bro. Poole's verdict that the MS. was copied from another document, one that was older than the *Whole Institutions* of 1725; that the *Graham* MS. contains traces of what was probably a heretical liturgy, at all events an independent one; and that it is a genuine Masonic production of a period not later than the early seventeenth century.

The last point is so important that I should like to explain why I am convinced that it is true.

The *Graham* MS. might have come into existence in three ways, so we should begin by considering the possibilities and probabilities of each one of them.

A. As a hoax or a forgery.

B. As embodying genuine Masonic tradition elaborated by the inventions or accretions superimposed by a "degree-giver", *i.e.*, a Mason with a memory capable of retaining the unwritten ritual in days long before the era of Lodges of Instruction.

C. As a reproduction, sufficiently exact, of a form of Masonic ritual at one time in vogue somewhere in Great Britain. If so, the questions face us: in what district, and at what period?

Of these three alternatives, I consider that the first one can be dismissed as highly improbable. The circumstances in which the MS. was discovered, its caligraphy, the parallels, so well and truly mustered by Bro. Poole, between its phrasing and that of other undoubtedly genuine Masonic documents of the early eighteenth century, and the patent fact that it is a copy from an older original, all lead me to believe that we are not dealing with the concoction of either a practical joker or a forger. It would seem worth while to consider for a moment

the technique of an imitator who sets out to parody the style of another: he will embody extracts from that man's real writings in his own, and at first examination the borrowed patches will seem the hall-mark of authenticity. Such in my opinion was the method adopted by the author of *The Grand Mistress of the Female Freemasons*, still claimed by many as having come from Swift's own pen. So if the *Graham* MS. had contained striking parallels with, or excerpts from, one rare Masonic document alone (such as the *Whole Institutions*), we should not be on such firm ground for basing a judgment. However, as Bro. Poole has shown, it has links with so many scattered pieces in the great jig-saw puzzle of early Masonic ritual, that the conviction of its authenticity is impressed upon us by one hammer-blow after another.

The second alternative, which I have labelled B, should not, I think, be entirely discarded from our minds: that is to say, the writer, in making this copy from an older original, which, incidentally, was also the parent or grand-parent of the *Whole Institutions*, may have added matter of his own without traditional legitimacy. This conclusion will, of course, be excluded, if we accept the third alternative: that the MS. preserves an actual Masonic ritual practised somewhere in Great Britain round about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and since then become as extinct as the dodo.

I think one would need much boldness to plump for either of these last two alternatives to the exclusion of the other.

As for the date when or the place where the ritual flourished, I can add nothing to what Bro. Poole has suggested in his paper.

The ritual as set forth in this document offers some landmarks that should be noted.

(1) It is an operative ritual, or close to being so. The Mason dreads "squandering (wandering?) spirits" who may overthrow his work, and conjures them by an incantation, even as his mediæval forebear would placate them by a foundation deposit.

(2) It is an itinerant ritual. Two curious passages must be quoted in this connexion:—

" . . . if I discover our secrets without the consent of a Lodge except the (I) have obtained a trible voice by being entered passed and raised by 3 severall Lodges and not so except I take the party sworn to be true to our articles . . .

" . . . as for the master mason he teaches the trade and ought to have a trible voice in teaching of our secrets if he be a bright man . . ."

The expression "trible voice" I take to mean triple voice, and hence figuratively triple power or authority. Other passages in the MS. give us the clue to its meaning, and, incidentally, connect the ritual with the tradition of the Antients and with a custom followed till this day in Ireland: that is to say, the secrets of a Master Mason cannot be communicated except in the presence of three Master Masons. The origin of the tradition is made quite clear in *Three Distinct Knocks* (1760), and provides a good logical reason for the adoption of certain substituted secrets. If but for this one reason, that it carries back one of the most important traditions of the "Antients" to a period prior to 1726, the discovery of this MS. would have been noteworthy in the highest degree.

However, in the *Graham* MS. the "trible voice" apparently means something more than the mere preservation of a traditional custom. The Master Mason who has obtained it, thanks to the assent of three several Lodges, is

empowered to make Masons, not only in a Lodge composed of any odd number of Brethren, but also without any assistance whatever, provided he administers an oath to the neophyte "to be true to our articles". "Articles", meaning the laws and ritual of a secret society, continued in common use in Ireland till the middle of the last century.

(3) It is a Christian ritual. Are we to look upon this as another heresy in orthodox Freemasonry? I doubt it. Till very much later in the century some Lodges continued to retain the old Christian phraseology and symbolism. For an illustration I go to an unexpected authority, Gabriel Honoré Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau, the hero of Carlyle's *French Revolution*, if not much of a hero otherwise. This worthy, casting his net in the troubled waters of the secret societies of the time, writes:—

"He should have passed the first three degrees of Freemasonry in a Lodge of St. John or of Melchizedech. It is well known that the Lodges of St John are only for Christians; those of Melchizedech, quite as good and as conformable to the law (*toutes aussi bonnes et conformes à la loi*), exist in great numbers in Italy, Holland, England, Portugal, Spain, and receive Jews, Turks, Persians, and Armenians".

(*Cour de Berlin*, 1789, iii., 120.)

I have little doubt that Mirabeau was stating an actual Masonic distinction of the period. This suggests a new meaning for the term "St. John" sometimes placed after the name of a visitor in old Masonic Minute Books. It is usually taken to denote a Mason unattached at the moment to any regular Lodge, but might just as well be a description of the Mason who had been made in a non-regular assembly of men deriving their knowledge from time-immemorial usage—such a Lodge, indeed, as seems to be indicated by the ritual now under consideration. On this head one might put the pertinent question: where did the "Hedge" or irregular Masons, who were plentiful enough up till the end of the eighteenth century and even later, obtain their information if not from some travelling Master Mason who had acquired, or perhaps in many cases assumed, the "tribe voice", the right to make Masons at sight?

So much has been written elsewhere about St. John in connexion with Freemasonry that I need not elaborate the subject here, except perhaps to note in passing, and not for the first time, that in Ireland great importance used to be attached to St. John's Days, and that one of the crimes laid to the charge of the "Moderns" by the "Antients" was their neglect of these festivals. The matter may have been more important than the mere abandonment of a date of celebration.

(4) Quite apart from the legend of the Noachidæ, we have in the *Graham MS.* numerous allusions to other Masonic traditions, some of them perhaps not wholly forgotten yet. Argument might be adduced to connect some of the wording with the degrees of Knight Templar and the Mark. We have our old friends Moses and Bezaleel, and a very interesting reference indeed to the "Baballonians", which recalls the couplet in the Hudibrastic poem of 1726:

"If history be no ancient fable,
Freemasons came from the Tower of Babel".

In short, after collating all the allusions in the *MS.*, I for one am left wondering whether what we have still preserved of legend in the Craft may not be only a small part of the *Acta Latomorum* known to our mediæval forerunners.

(5) The nonsense words following the name of Thos. Graham certainly lend themselves to the composition of an anagram, and yielded one which at first

sight proved very satisfactory to myself. On reflexion, however, I am not inclined to attach too much value to this effort by one of the least of Torquemada's disciples, for some of the letters are so irregularly formed as to admit of doubt, and in trying for a solution one is biased by the meaning one would like to find. So while my re-arrangement would make sense, it depends upon a reading of the letters that would not be endorsed by everyone. Moreover it touches on the esoteric. Better let it rest in the limbo of the unprinted.

To conclude: Bro. Poole asks for an explanation of the strange words in *The Grand Mystery Laid Open*. My suggestion is that the author had got hold of some book about the Saracens and had copied Arabic terms from it in order to make his own Mystery more mysterious in sound, if not in fact.

Bro. D. KNOOP said:—

I should like to add a warm expression of thanks and congratulation to Bro. Poole for the manner in which he has brought the *Graham* MS. before us. Early ritual and "exposures" being outside my special province, I can contribute little to the discussion, and restrict my remarks to a few points.

Date. The evidence seems overwhelmingly in favour of 1726. (i.) In the date as written in the MS. the figure 2 is above, but slightly to the right of, the figure 7 and is written in a smaller hand, as one would expect with an omission inserted above the line. Further, the figure 7 is in line with the figures 1 and 6, and not below them, as would be essential if the analogy of cruciform date inscriptions on houses were to hold good. Incidentally it may be noted that the practice of cutting dates in that way was pretty widespread, and I doubt whether it was particularly associated with any area. (ii.) The content of the MS. strongly confirms the date 1726, for, as Bro. Poole points out, the MS. is very closely related to *The Whole Institutions of Free Masons Opened*, published as a broadsheet in 1725, and the common original of this and the *Graham* MS. probably belongs to the same period. (iii.) Dating by handwriting is often only approximate and carries little weight against good internal evidence. In this instance, though the hand may be typical of the late seventeenth century, the MS. might well have been written in the early eighteenth by a fairly elderly man using a style of writing learned in his youth.

Provenance. My colleague, Douglas Hamer, tells me that the only spelling suggesting a Scottish origin which he has noticed is *bair*, occurring in *bairfoot* and *bairhead*.

Relationship to the Old Charges. Apart from a parallel in *Dumfries No 4* MS., to which Bro. Poole draws attention, the *Graham* MS. would, at first sight, seem to possess no affinity to the Old Charges. The content is very different, and in the preamble to the Noah episode, by implication at least, the *Graham* MS. contradicts the story of the preservation of the knowledge of the arts and sciences and the discovery of one of the Pillars after the Flood. Bro. Poole refers to this as a heresy and as suggesting a possible schism. Another possible explanation is that the author of the *Graham* original had never seen a copy of the Old Charges and therefore did not know that he was contradicting the old legend.

On the other hand, my colleague G. P. Jones points out that the *Graham* MS. is perhaps not entirely unconnected with the ordinary tradition, as represented by the MS. *Constitutions*, for it is possible to see in it (a) a vestige of the Charges, and (b) a trace of the legendary history.

(a) *Graham MS.*, page 1, lower half:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. 17: "What were you sworn to + for to hale and conceall our secrets". | Cf. 'That he . . . hele the counsell of his fellows in lodge and in chamber'. |
| 11. -20: ". . . my third was never to steall". | Cf. 'That no mason be thief etc.' |
| 11.20-21: ". . . my fourth was never to commite adultery with a brothers wife". | Cf. "nor shall you take your brother's wife in villany". |
| 1.23 : ". . . brother but Love and releive him etc." | Cf. "ye shall be true one to another etc." |

(b) *Graham MS.*, page 2, lower half:—

1.8, King Alboyne; 1.13, the two younger brothers of the foresaid King Alboyn desired for to be instructed: 1.17, he (Alboin) taught them the [t]heorick and the practick part of masonry: 1.18, then was masons wages called up in that realme.

Alboin, Alboyne, here may be compared with seynt *Albon*, "who lovyd well masons . . . And he ordeyned couenyent to pay for ther travayle" (*Cooke MS.*, 11, 606-611). But one may also compare the references to the son of Athelstane. "And lernyd prackyke . . . to his speculatyf. . . . And he ordeyned that the schulde haue resonabull' pay" (*Cooke MS.*, 11, 622-624 and 631-633). In the *Graham MS.*, as in the *Cooke* and other versions there are mentioned fairly close to each other: (1) the name Alban, Albon, Albane, Alboyne; (2) good wages for masons, and (3) instruction in masonry, and practical as well as speculative masonry. It may well have been that the author of the *Graham* original, though he perhaps never saw a *MS.* version of the legend, had heard its contents and retained a confused memory of Albon. Then, not realising that Albon was a saint, he made him a king; and he seems to have thought that this king was about contemporary with Bezaleel.

Bezaleel. My reaction to this reference was different from Bro. Poole's. I could not help wondering why early Masonic historians, well acquainted with the Bible, had never introduced Bezaleel into their accounts of the development of building industry, seeing that he is described in *Exodus*, xxxi., 5, as cunning in cutting of stones to set them.

Pallies. My colleague—G. P. Jones—suggests that this might possibly be a misreading, as the result of a series of misreadings, of "powers", written with a double-looped "w", each loop being read as an "l".

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

We are indebted to Bro. Poole for introducing us to this document and for his comments thereon, and particularly for bringing to our notice the two documents marked A and B in the Appendix.

I do not remember seeing either of those documents before, nor have I found them in Gould's *History*.

1. The date of the document seems to me to be amply clear. The figure "2" is not written over the "7", as in the proof, but in the space above the

position in which the 3rd figure of the date should have appeared. It is written in a smaller size than the other figures. The writer did not use a "caret" to indicate the original omission. He uses the same method of supplying an omission in the upper half of page 3 of the MS., line 18, where, meaning to write the word "should", he omitted the "u", but supplied it by writing it over the position it should have occupied. It is therefore unnecessary to consider the diagrams of figures appearing in the proof. As to the opinions expressed by the officials referred to, the date must prevail over mere opinions. It must be remembered that if the writer of the MS. was at all advanced in years, he probably learned to write and form his letters at a period long antecedent to the date of the document. After 20 years of age we do not as a rule materially alter the style in which we form our letters.

2. What is the document?

It does not purport (as Prichard's did) to be an exposé of Masonic Ritual; but the ending shows that it was prepared as information for "all or any of our fretarnity (*sic*) that intends to learn by this". Certain crucial words are omitted which would remain to be supplied when the learner was receiving tuition. Such a method seems to be not unknown in these days.

I regret I am unable to agree with Bro. Poole that Graham wrote "chanceing". The letter "s" seems to me to be quite plain and prominent in the text which (with deference) seems to me to be "chawesing" or perhaps "chauesing" Master of Lodges. The only interpretation which seems probable is that the illiterate writer spelled "choosing" in that way. In that case it might be a way of claiming the right as such a Master of "choosing", that is, electing or making masons.

Having regard to the allegation on upper half of page 1 as to the conditions on which the secrets could be communicated: I suspect that those conditions were so framed by the writer as to enable him to say that he was authorised to reveal them without other aid. These are the words:—" + perjury and hatred of Brotherhood for ever if I discover our secrets without the consent of a Lodge *except that have obtained a tribble voice by being entered passed and raised and conformed by 3 severall Lodges and not so except I take the party sworn to be true to our articles*".

By leaving the blanks at the end he was able to charge further fees to his pupils for teaching them the required words. In this way he was a forerunner of the Masonic Impostor Finch, who proceeded very much on those lines.

Graham appears to have been adroit enough to require his pupils to take an oath of secrecy, and he may have alleged that he only imparted information "to all or any of our fretarnity that intends to learn by this".

Throughout the document there are many mistakes in copying, which might easily have been detected and corrected if the scribe had taken the trouble to read through what he had written.

Graham also describes himself as "outher" (which seems to be meant for "author"), and "Enquam Ebo" is the equivalent of the Latin words "Inquam Ibo".

If Graham really knew Latin but slightly he could not have made such an error. It is not impossible that he enlisted the aid of an assistant (duly sworn) to write out from his own retained original MS. the copy now presented before us, and any other copies of which he could dispose at a profit.

There are many errors in the way of spelling and disjoining one part of a word from another, which seem to point to the work of an unintelligent and inaccurate copyist. But as such considerations do not affect the substance of the disclosures made by the MS. I do not pursue them further.

3. Antediluvian Masonry.

This outstanding subject in the MS. is dealt with by Brother Poole, but it seems to me that he may have overlooked certain passages in the 1723 *Constitutions*, page 3:—

“Noah the ninth from Seth, was commanded and directed by God to build the great Ark which tho’ of wood, was certainly fabricated by Geometry and according to the Rules of Masonry”.

“Noah and his three sons Japhet, Shem, and Ham, all Masons true, brought with them over the Flood, the Traditions and Arts of the Ante-deluvians, and amply communicated them to their growing offspring”.

This is quite as strong as Graham’s phrase:—

“for I hope all will allow that all things needful for the new world was in the ark with Noah” (as quoted by Bro. Poole).

On the same page Anderson refers in a footnote to the two large Pillars the one of Stone and the other of Brick whereon were engraven the Liberal Sciences, &c.

Evidently Anderson and his companions did not regard the two Pillars as the *only* means by which the knowledge of the Arts and Sciences was preserved. He relegated them to a footnote and relied on the communication before referred to. Hence Brother Poole’s suggestion that there was “a definite heresy and therefore possibly a schism indicated in the *Graham MS.*” is even more forcibly applicable to Anderson, whose record in 1723 preceded Graham by three years.

But where is it stated in the *Old Charges* that the Pillars were the *only* means by which such knowledge was preserved?

Graham certainly records a very different incident as leading up to the five points. But on the evidence before us it seems not improbable that the Noah incident was the first form in which a raising was associated with the five points.

It has, however, been pointed out that in Anderson’s 1723 Edition (pages 11 and 12) very prominent allusions are made to Hiram Abif, thus indicating that a legend concerning him was then at least in process of consideration or formulation. Neither in the 1723 *Anderson* nor in the Bible is there the slightest indication that Hiram’s death was of any Masonic interest. It is not mentioned.

In the 1738 *Constitutions* (page 4) Anderson repeats the allegations that Noah and his 3 Sons preserved the knowledge of the Arts and Sciences and communicated it to their offspring. He further alleges that “Noachidae”, or Sons of Noah, was the first name of Masons according to some old traditions. It seems not improbable therefore, in the light of what we now know, that Anderson and some of his colleagues were aware of the variant as to the disinterment of Noah.

Nevertheless, the Hiram legend fits in with the meaning of the whispered words more logically than the words associated with the Noah legend.

Perhaps a relic of both traditions is preserved by the fact that there are alternative whispered words and more than one set of interpretations. The incidents, however, are not necessarily exclusive one of the other.

Solomon’s workmen knew the points of fellowship. They were not secrets they sought after. The old Masons may have said that those points had descended to the Temple Masons by transmission from the Noachidae.

Addendum to comments by Bro. W. J. Williams:—

Since the above remarks were written I have observed that the Briscoe "Secret History" has narrations of its own concerning the discovery of the "Grand Secret".

This is noteworthy because the First Edition of the *Briscoe* MS. was published in 1724 (though without a date) and the Second Edition was published and dated in 1725. Thus both editions preceded by a year or two the *Graham* MS. of 1726. The passages to which I refer are now copied from Bro. Bain's *facsimile* of the first edition. (The second edition is word for word the same).

First is this quotation from the Preface, page ii.:—

"But some curious Talmudists among the Jews, and the Chaldean Magi, do assert the Original of this Copy was found by Moses in search after the Burial Place of Adam, in whose Monumental Stone Coffin it is suppos'd he met with other invaluable Materials which enabled him to compile that part of the History of the World before the Deluge, which some individuals are apt to cavil at, as if it was probable so many Ages as were between Adam, and Moses should be lost, without solid Traditions to support the Facts of Moses's History from whence and other Holy Writers a great many Hints are taken".

In the second place:—

The same pamphlet at p. 29 proceeds with Observations and Critical Remarks on the New Constitutions of the Free-Masons (pages 29 to 31 are here copied):—

"It is universally agreed on all Hands from sacred Writ the Jewish Talmudists, the Magi among the Egyptians, and the Arabick Catena, that Adam was the first Architect copying after his grand Original the Maker of all Things; but our remarker upon the constitutions is very weak on that footing to introduce Tubal Cain, Jubah, and Jabal for their skill in Architecture; whereas the first was a worker in metals, the second a musician, and the third a tent maker. Now had this cunning diver into the secrets of antiquity but consulted the Bodleian Library he would have found in the Arabick Catena, MS., page 137, that Adam caused a beautiful monumental stone to be formed for the depositing of his body; on which was carved all the Geometrical figures and Hieroglyphicks afterwards used by the Ancient Egyptians, together with the particular signification of the letter Tau, which was the mark put upon Cain, least any one should destroy him, and was the mark afterwards used by Moses to protect the Israelites from the destroying angel".

"Now it happen'd when Adam was forewarned of his approaching death, that he delivered this stone coffin of his, if I may be so allowed to call it, to his son Seth, with this charge, that upon his decease his body should be there deposited till at such time there should be found a priest of the most high God to inter it, which was verified in that of Melchisedec; for Adam's body was safely conveyed to Noah, who placed it in the centre of the ark, and daily offered prayers upon this monumental tomb as an alter raised to God upon the faith of his father Adam. Now this is what the remarker of the Constitutions wanted to know when he mentions the two pillars of stone, whereon were engraven the liberal sciences, one supposed to be raised by Seth, and the other by Enoch; whereas it appears plain it was the monumental stone wherein Adam lay, that these figures he mentions were engraven, and which stone, together with the body in it, was conveyed by Seth to Lamech and so to Noah".

It would therefore appear that following in the wake of Dr. Anderson's prefatory matter in the 1723 edition of the *Constitutions* other writers exercised their powers of imagination and invented their own versions of the means by which Masonic secrets originated and were preserved and transmitted.

Having regard to the specific reference to a Manuscript alleged to be in the Bodleian Library, I wrote there asking whether anything was known of such a document. The Librarian kindly wrote to me regretting that he could not offer any explanation of the passage about such a Manuscript. "Catena", so far as he knew, is never applied to any Arabic work and the legend itself is unknown to any of the Authors of books on the Biblical legends of the Mohammedans. Again, the mention of Egyptian Hieroglyphs in a mediæval Arabic work is most unlikely, as also is the mystical interpretation of Greek letters. He could not help suspecting that it was an invention of the Author which he hoped to put off on his readers by a learned looking reference, knowing that few (if any) of them would be likely to try to check it.

For my own part I should not be surprised if it turned out to be a caprice on the part of Dr. Jonathan Swift, who was fond of such exercises.

BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

The *Graham* MS. is a wonderful find and Bro. Poole is to be heartily congratulated on the masterly way in which he has introduced it to the Lodge.

The unusual method of writing the date is certainly puzzling. Could it possibly be 1762? If so, many of the difficulties might be resolved. Still, the opinion of the experts cannot be disregarded and if 1672 be an approximation we are faced with the fact that many of our legends have their roots in pre-Grand Lodge days.

The many Christian references in the MS. are possibly indications of an early date.

It is stated in *Misc. Lat.*, xiv., 2, that the texts of the two Broadley broadsheets have never been reproduced and that the originals have been lost. It would be interesting to place on record how the text was preserved.

As Speth pointed out long ago, Anderson's ponderous note, in 1723, concerning Hiram Abiff would have been meaningless unless some importance had been attached to the name. And now his references, in 1738, to Noachida and Noachidae would seem to indicate that he was conversant with the story of the lost secrets as related in the *Graham* MS. (An earlier use of the word Noachidae is quoted at *A.Q.C.*, xi., 35.) The tale about the too hasty destruction of certain important documents begins to take on a fresh complexion.

One thing does emerge clearly enough from this latest discovery: that the Masonry of North Britain was not so much different from that of England as both Speth and Hughan assumed in their controversy (*A.Q.C.*, x. and xi.) for the *Chetwode Crawley*, the *Trinity College Dublin*, the *Edinburgh Register House* and the *Graham MSS.* may all be put down as of Scottish origin. And all these provide evidence of the existence of a plurality of degrees prior to the Revival of 1717.

BRO. S. J. FENTON said:—

Bro. Poole's paper is most interesting and raises more questions than will ever be solved.

That the *Graham* Manuscript is closely related to both

The Whole Institutions of Freemasons opened, and
The Grand Mystery laid open,

there can be very little doubt, but I do not think that the words in the latter manuscript were "Nonsensical". It is so seldom that words in such documents were put in without meaning something definite, hidden though it might be. Finch, for instance, appeared unintelligible, but it is at least translatable.

With regard to the words given in the *Grand Mystery laid open*, LAYLAH ILLALAH is obviously taken from the Mohammedan profession of faith, LA ILLAHA ILLA 'LAHU, "There is no God but Allah". The mention of the Arabic creed suggests to my mind that some of the other words, like 'Asphahani' and 'Jatmouny', might possibly be derived from Eastern Languages, e.g., Sanskrit or Hindustani.

Regarding the word MAGBOE, appearing in the other MS. (*The Whole Institutions*). There is a Hebrew word for "marrow", viz., MO-ACH, which, owing to the difficulty in pronouncing CH, may have been corrupted to MAG. BOE may be an error for BONE.

BRO. W. JENKINSON writes:—

Not since the days when Gould, Hughan and Speth gave to the Masonic world their reasoned views on the degrees of our Order has a subject of such vital interest been brought before the Lodge as the one so skilfully outlined by Bro. Poole, who has assuredly provided plenty of material for the "hard thinking" he so naively suggests to his Brethren.

When one, who has made the *Old Charges* and the early eighteenth century rituals his special field, says but little regarding the implications of the MS. under consideration to-night, it ill becomes a mere novice to air his opinions, but the following remarks are offered as having some slight bearing on the subject.

The possibility of the date of the MS. being 1672 may not be visionary. Hughan records the fact that the Charter granted by the G.L. Scotland for the Old Kilwinning Lodge of Inverness dated 30th Nov., 1737, and declares that the members had "received and entered apprentices, past Fellow Crafts and raised Master Masons from 27th Dec. 1678". (*Origin of English Rite*, p. 46; 1909 Edn.) Admittedly the wording of the Charter is not actual proof of the existence of the three degrees in 1678, but nevertheless we have a recorded assertion in language bearing a marked similarity to that of the *Graham MS.*; and it might be argued that the G.L. Scotland would not have accepted this assertion 59 years later if there had not been some degree of truth in the statement.

The nearest approach to "King Alboyne" that suggests itself is the "St. albone" appearing in the Mason Charter of Lodge Aberdeen 1^{ter}, dated 1670. (Miller, *Notes on the Early History and Records of the Lodge Aberdeen 1^{ter}*.) This, however, affords no solution of "his two brothers".

We of the Irish Constitution are indebted to Bro. Poole for the reprint of *The Whole Institutions*, originally printed at Dublin in 1725. The Blind Quay, now Exchange St. Dublin, is the "Blind Key" of the original print, and there several booksellers and publishers resided in the early eighteenth century, amongst whom we find W. Wilmot in 1726. Wilmot died soon after, and a grant of Intestacy is recorded in the name of "Willmot William, printer, Dublin. 1727".

From an Irish Masonic point of view *The Whole Institutions* is noteworthy. Taken alone, this document printed in Dublin in the very year in which Rosse was installed G.M., is of more than passing interest. Taken in conjunction with the *Trinity College MS.* (1711) and applied to certain portions of Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730 it assumes a deeper significance. The passages in Pennell will be found on pps. 7 and 8 of his *History*, where he deals with H.A.B. in a

manner peculiar to himself as compared with Anderson, and again at p. 44, where in the first paragraph of Charge IV. a full tri-gradal system is outlined, again in language peculiar to Pennell.

Crawley has shown in his analysis of the *List of Subscribers to Pennell* (*Caem. Hib. Fasc. I.*) that these were scattered all over Ireland, and I venture the opinion that the references to the 3° in *The Whole Institutions* would be meaningless were it not that a knowledge of that part of our ritual was familiar to the Irish Mason of 1725, and that when Pennell issued his *Constitutions* certain phrases therein were readily understood by the wide circle whose textbook the 1730 *Constitutions* then became.

If after careful consideration it should be held that the tri-gradal system of the *Graham MS.*, irrespective of the peculiar legend, is genuine, and that it is akin to the *Trinity College MS.* and *The Whole Institutions*, both admittedly Irish, then some additional light may be shed on the development of our Irish ritual.

One small point remains, and because of Bro. Poole's expert knowledge my suggestion is made with considerable diffidence. In connection with the Mason's *Confession* our Brother reads D - - - - - as indicating Dumfries. May I submit that in view of the five distinct dashes a place name of six letters might be more correctly inferred. A reference to the Register of the G.L. Scotland gives us No. 52/47 Operative Lodge, Dundee, chartered 6 Feb. 1745, and Ancient Dundee, chartered 2 May 1745, though both Lodges had a much greater antiquity. Murray Lyon (*Hist. Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 36) informs us that "The Ludge of Dundie" which was a party to the St. Clair Charter of 1628 was in all probability the representative of "Our Lady Luge of Dundee" of the sixteenth century, and Gould, in his *Time Immemorial Lodges* says "in the charter of No. 49 precisely the same traditional antiquity with all its details is recited which (as we learn from Laurie) has been advanced on the part of 47" (*Essays on Freemasonry*, p. 200). Perhaps the gibe in the letter is intended for the hoary antiquity of these Lodges. At any rate, Dundee would fit the blanks, and is "in the East of Scotland", whereas Dumfries would be more correctly designated as "in the South".

Bro. GEO. BULLAMORE writes:—

The *Graham MS.* is Christian and operative, and the references to the Noachidae by Anderson suggest that the type of mason was known to him. Bro. Poole speaks of schisms and the change-over of the legend, but perhaps the explanation is that there was a convergence of Masonic bodies in operative days brought about by the adoption of similar secrets. The earlier church-builders, using much timber, might have based their traditions on the sons of Noah and of Bezaleel. A later invasion of stone cutters established at Westminster might promulgate a legend connected with the Temple. When the latter organisation was well established, the substituted secrets of the sons of Noah could be made to coincide with the substitutions of the Temple craftsman and the secret titles of the Godhead, which Bezaleel appears to have passed on in much the same manner as the word is given in the Royal Arch, could be made to coincide with the discoveries of Zerubbabel. As the secret indicated the degree of skill the two systems would then work together with the lower grades of workmen in common.

The following are guesses at the minor problems. The primitive pallies (palace) of the Godhead was the Tabernacle, the secret titles were the words of power used by Bezaleel to vanquish infernal "squandering spirits". The "chanceing master" was possibly an officer whose duties were to look out for chance masons in the district and regularise their presence by collecting fees or

enrolling them in the lodge. Such duties were known to be carried out but the term is new.

An interesting feature is the light thrown on the reason for the substitution secrets. As I read it, the secrets were powerful mantrams that disposed of the necessity for the foundation sacrifice. The substituted secrets, however, were without power in themselves, but were rendered effective by faith and prayer. At one time practically every action had to be accompanied by its appropriate spell; and, when building, it was necessary to guard against infernal "squandering spirits" that might shake the work. Hence the necessity for the secrets.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

As the *Graham* MS. has turned up near York I am naturally interested, and I tried to find out whether the name "Graham" appeared amongst the members in the Old Lodge in York City. I find that the only Brother having the same name is Bellingham Graham. This Brother was sworn and admitted on Aug. 13, 1726. This is taken from Roll No. 7, which is *A Register of admissions and the meetings at which these took place, 1712 to 1730*.

Further, Bro. Bellingham Graham did not sign the old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York, 1725 (*York Grand Lodge Roll No. 8*), neither did he sign *A list of Master-Masons in the Lodge at York (York Grand Lodge Roll No. 9)*.

On reading through Bro. Poole's article I do not think that Bellingham Graham has any connection with the *Graham* MS., but it is as well that all avenues should be searched and I thought that it might be interesting to have these particulars.

Further to previous note about Bellingham Graham, I found the following paragraph from *The Original Mercury, York Journal or Weekly Courant*, Numb. 245, April 21 (1730):—

Laft Week died at his feat at Norton-Conyers in Yorkfhire, Sir Pellingham Graham, Bart and dying a Batchelor, is fucceded by his next Brother (now) Sir Reginald Graham, Bart. a cornet in Lord Carpenter's Dragoons.

In the above Pellingham is a misprint for Bellingham. This paragraph shows that the Graham family were people of importance and there may have been one of the family called Thomas. I have looked up the name in the *New & General Biographical Dictionary* . . . London . . . 1761, but the name Graham does not appear and I have not had time to look anywhere else. The family, however, should not be difficult to trace.

Bro. H. POOLE writes, in reply:—

I cannot say that I am disappointed at the comparatively small amount of constructive suggestion as to the solutions of the problems raised by this MS., because I felt, and still feel, that it may be many years before we realise its full significance. This is by no means the 'last word' on the subject; and I do most earnestly hope that all students will keep the problems in mind.

A few small points require comment:—

"Squandering" is an archaic equivalent of "wandering", and is actually found in Shakespeare.

"Pallies"—I think "powers" is a very attractive suggestion.

I am not at all inclined to accept Bro. W. J. Williams's suggestion of Thos. Graham as a forerunner of Finch, which seems to me an entirely un-

supported conjecture; but he is right in drawing attention to the Noah incident in the 1723 *B. of U.* which I had carelessly overlooked.

I am also glad that Bro. Knoop has drawn attention to the little group of moral precepts, which must surely be an echo of the *Old Charges*. I am less confident about "King Alboyne", though the possibility of his identity with the Alban of the traditional history should not be lost sight of.

Bro. Fenton is certainly correct in his suggestion that the 'oriental' words are not mere nonsense (I hope I did not give the impression that *that* was my own verdict!); and I think Bro. Lepper has rightly indicated the proper line of search—for some book which contains the words. As to this, so far I have had no success; but an enquiry at the British Museum yielded, besides the expansion of *Laylah Illalah*, several fairly close parallels:—

To *Checchahabeddin Jatmouny*, the personal name *Shihāb al-Dīn Yatmūnī*;
to *Asphahani*, *Isbahānī*=he of Ispahan;
and to *Istowlawleys*, the verb *istaula*=to conquer, become lord over.

I suppose there can really be very little doubt about the date; indeed, I had myself very little all along. But I thought it was worth while putting on record the fact that there is actually a doubt, however small.

As to the provenance, though I at first leaned rather towards the Scottish Border, I am more and more inclined to plump for Ireland; and the remarks of both Bros. Lepper and Jenkinson tend to strengthen the case. I have a recollection of a remark made by someone present at the meeting that in some parts of Ireland it is not the custom to sit in the North part of the Lodge; and if this be so, we have a strong piece of evidence pointing in the same direction.

I was naturally pleased to find that my introduction of the MS. was appreciated; and I have to thank several Brethren for very kind expressions on the subject. I had no misgivings whatever as to the reception of the subject-matter; and my own work on it was inspired solely by the desire to do justice to my opportunity—an opportunity such as few of us are ever privileged to seize.

Postscript.

Between the delivery of my paper and its publication, the appointment of Bro. Knoop as Prestonian Lecturer has given him the opportunity of basing on the *Graham* MS. his very interesting treatment of the Mason Word, now incorporated in *The Scottish Mason*. While by no means agreeing with all the conclusions which he reaches, I would like to take the opportunity of congratulating him on this new and important work; and also of expressing my satisfaction in the fact that the *Graham* MS. has so quickly been taken up and made the starting point for constructive work—that the debate which I opened has not, so far, been allowed to hang fire.

Another happy event also must be put on record. As recently as 1924, in a paper on early Masonic Ritual, I had to report the *Whole Institutions* of 1725 and the *Grand Mystery laid open* of 1726, which had been in the Broadley Collection, as missing. Some five or six years later, copies, made long ago by the late Bro. W. J. Hugan, were unearthed by Bro. J. M. Dow, and sent to the Lodge, where they lay waiting, as it were, for the discovery of the *Graham* MS. which was to illuminate, and be illuminated by, them. But this good fortune was surpassed during the summer of 1938, when the originals, with other rare material from the Collection, came into the hands of Bro. Wallace Heaton, in time for the proofs of my Appendix to be corrected from photographs of the originals. Our satisfaction at the recovery of valuable material, once known and recorded, and allowed to go astray, should be little less keen than our welcome to fresh material such as the *Graham* MS.

FRIDAY, 5th MARCH, 1937.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Geo. Elkington, P.G.D., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M., as I.P.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., as S.W.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; and B. Ivanoff, I.G.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Love, C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., J. Harold Green, Carl J. Blyh, F. R. Whitney, L. G. Wearing, *Capt.* A. F. G. Warrington, Robt. A. Card, F. A. Dale, S. Daniel Rowe, W. S. Gildersleeve, H. Boutroy, A. F. Cross, T. E. Bedworth, T. E. Rees, F. R. Radice, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., G. C. Williams, D. L. Oliver, R. A. L. Harland, A. Thompson, John Makower, R. R. Hayne, A. Harriss Smith, F. P. Reynolds, W. Morgan Day, W. H. Leese, T. M. Scott, H. W. Martin, H. D. Elkington, Claude A. Everitt, A. F. Hatten, W. G. Hodgson, and J. H. Greenwood.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. W. J. Williams, P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, S.W.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., I.P.M.; *Major* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., J.D.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Telepneff; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., S.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., P.M.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down; and *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch.

Three Lodges, one Lodge of Instruction and Forty-four Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. G. C. WILLIAMS.

Apron. Plain white skin, curved edges, straight base, curved flap apparently intended to be worn turned up. No tassels or other ornamentation of any kind. Edging of silk, originally probably green, and tied with long ribbons of the same.

Collar. Green silk. S. and C.; the compasses tied with an elaborate bow, and up the sides two sprigs of acacia. This all worked in tinsel. Does not seem to have been intended to carry any jewel. About four inches broad; no lining.

The silk cannot be earlier than about 1840. The apron may be earlier.

Apron, probably Gd. Orient (France). E.A.

Collar ? Master of a Lodge.

Originally the property of H. N. K. J. Davies, who was a Superintendent of Police in Burma, where he died in 1886.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Williams, who had kindly lent the objects for exhibition.

Bro. *Rev.* W. K. FIRMINGER read the following paper:—

THE ROMANCES OF ROBISON AND BARRUEL.

BY THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER, D.D., P.G.Chap.

“ Our Church hath neither tower nor steeple;
Our lands are low-lying lands;
And our people low-lying people ”.

I.—JOHN ROBISON.



ARKMAN, in his thrilling narrative of the capture of the Heights of Abraham, tells us that “ General Wolfe was in one of the foremost boats, and near him was a young midshipman, John Robison, afterwards professor of natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. He used to tell in his later life how Wolfe, with a low voice, repeated Gray’s ‘Elegy in a Country Churchyard’ to the officers about him . . . Among the rest was the verse which his own fate was soon to illustrate:—

‘ The paths of glory lead but to the grave ’.

‘ Gentlemen ’, he said, as his recital ended, ‘ I would rather have written those lines than taken Quebec ’ ”. Born in 1739, Robison in 1759 could not as a midshipman be described as a “ young ” midshipman. The *D.N.B.* tells us that he went to Canada as a tutor to Admiral Sir Charles Knowles’s son, and that appointment brought him into active service. In 1770, he accompanied Sir Charles to Russia, and subsequently for a short time held the post of Principal of the Marine Academy at Cronstadt. On his way to Russia he appears to have spent some time at Liège, and there he was made a Mason in Lodge *La Parfaite Intelligence*. He describes his Mother Lodge as “ very splendid ”. “ It contained ”, he writes, “ in December 1770 the Prince Bishop and the greatest part of the Chapter, and all the office-bearers were dignitaries of the Church, yet a discourse given by the Brother Orator was as poignant a satire on superstition and credulity as if it were written by Voltaire ”. (P. 51.¹) He had time to visit French Lodges at Valenciennes, Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, Berlin and Königsberg, and at St.

¹ In the art. “ Liège ” the *Catholic Cyclopædia* confirms Robison’s view as to the prevalency of the opinions of the French Encyclopædists at Liège, especially under Bishop de Velbuech (1772-84). The diocese was eliminated during the French Revolution. Gustave Bord (*La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*, p. 435), gives, not under Liège but Lille, “ PARFAITE INTELLIGENCE. Lorsque cette L. qui comprenait 16 membres, fut constituée par le G. O., le février 29, 1776, pour prendre rang du 12 Octobre, 1775, et en rapellant ses travaux commencés en 1770, on lui réserva la faculté de prendre rang à la date de son ancien titre, si elle parvenait à le retrouver. Cette L. avait alors pour ven. le baron de Goer de Herve, seigneur d’Haltinues, Herck, Marseroulles, etc., chambellan de Bavière, conseiller au conseil ordinaire de S. A. le prince de Liège; son secrétaire était de Soër, imprimeur et gazettier, et son député, Millon, officier du G. O. conseiller ou Châtelet. Cette L. cessa définitivement ses travaux avant 1780 ”. October 12, 1775, is the date which Daruty gives for the constitution of the Liège *Parfaite Intelligence* by the G. O. Has Bord with his frequent inaccuracy mistaken Lille for Liège, or did the Lodge change its *venue*? As to the statement that the Lodge ceased working in 1780, see Besuchet.

Petersburg, he says (p. 3) the rank of Scotch Master was "in a manner forced" on him in "a private Lodge of French Masons". "My masonic rank", he writes, "admitted me to a very elegant entertainment in the female *Loge de la Fidélité*, where every ceremonial was composed in the highest degree of elegance, and everything conducted with the most delicate respect for our fair sisters, and the old song of brotherly love was chanted in the most refined strain of sentiment. I do not suppose that the Parisian Free Masonry of forty-five degrees could give me more entertainment". The latter statement the reader of Robison's many pages of mawkish padding about the feminine virtues and susceptibilities will not be inclined to doubt. The ladies appointed him their Brother Orator. Masonry of more authentic kind began to pall on the novice. Albeit that it appeared "a baseless fabric", he feared that it might excite in him "some of that fanaticism" which he observed in others, and, as a Caledonian, he reflected it cost him "a good deal of money". He was disgusted with "the heaps of rubbish with which Anderson has disgraced his *Constitutions of Freemasonry*" (p. 17), and with the supercilious indifference to veracity that characterises his volume, he (p. 69) characterises both Anderson and Desaguliers as "two persons of little education and low manners". He, however, speaks of two volumes of Masonic Discourses published by his Lodge at Liège (p. 52). His enthusiasm for Masonry having forsaken him, he left these volumes behind in a Lodge on the Continent, but he refers to three of them. In 1773 he was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

The first of these discourses he describes as "delivered by Mirabeau in the Lodge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Paris". As to this we may observe: (1) that when Robison took his Apprentice degree in March, 1770, Mirabeau was twenty years of age, and (2) the order of *Chevaliers Bienfaisants* came into existence at Lyons in 1778. There was a Lodge *Bienfaisance* of the Strict Observance at Paris, but that Lodge was not constituted until April 10, 1781.

The second was a discourse delivered by Robinet at the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Saint Cité* at Lyons, at a Visitation by the Grand Master the Duke of Chartres, afterwards Orleans and Egalité. The Duke of Chartres was installed as Grand Master of the Grand Orient on October 22nd, 1773. Robison further says that Robinet's address was "the germ and substance of his *La Nature, ou l'Homme moral et physique* and also of Diderot's *Systèmes de la Nature*."¹ The last named work was written by Holbach, and published under the name of Mirabaud, his predecessor, in the very year of Robison's initiation. It should also be borne in mind that the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants* were the very opposite to being materialists.

The third he affirms was a discourse delivered by Brother Condorcet in the *Loge des Philalèthes* at Strasbourg.

In addition to this illuminative literature, Robison possessed "some far-fetched and gratuitous histories", and also the *Maçonnerie Adonhiramque dévoilée*, which writing he says is "in everyone's hands". However, as a reward for his proficiency as Brother Orator in a feminine Lodge, a mysterious person sent him at midnight a box containing masonic documents, and on the day following Robison learned that this benefactor had departed "with the funds of an

¹ See Morley. *Diderot*, II., p. 155. The ascription to Diderot was quite common, Barruel (II., 185) ascribes it to Diderot and two other adepts of the "Club secret d'Holbach". On p. 554 Robison in a sentence difficult to construe, writes: "Never was anything more contemptible than the physical and mechanical positions in Diderot's great work (Barruel affirms that he was the author, and got 100 pistoles from the person who related the story to him), that long ago found that Diderot had assisted Robinet to make a book out of his Masonic Oration, which I mentioned on page 41". Barruel does not refer to Robinet's "Masonic Oration". The London Library copy of Tom II. of Barruel's *Mémoires*, although dated 1797, is not a first edition, and there is in a footnote on p. 294 a reference to Robison's book and its "appendix".

establishment of which His Imperial Majesty had made him the manager''. Ten years after that he met this person in the streets of Edinburgh, and greeted him softly in Russian: the man coloured, but made no reply. The books Robison kept, intending to present them to "some respectable Lodge, but in the meanwhile he would feel himself at liberty to make use of them, but in such a way as would afford no uninitiated person to gain admission to Lodges working the degrees concerned''.

His "Masonic spirit evaporated'', Robison did not interest himself again in the subject until 1795, when at a friend's house he came across a volume of a publication called *Religions Begebenheiten*. Fortified by that work, he set to work to compose *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies*. This work he dedicated to the Right Honorable William Wyndham (*sic*), Secretary at War, a "College acquaintance, whose kind remembrance a separation of thirty years had not effaced''. This was the well-known statesman, William Windham of Felbrigg Hall, who after leaving Eton at the age of sixteen and before going up to University College, Oxford, had spent sometime studying natural philosophy and mathematics at Glasgow, where Robison, eleven years older than Windham, had been recently appointed a lecturer in chemistry. You may perhaps remember that our Bro. Tuckett in his paper on "An Apollonian Summons" (*A.Q.C.*, xxv.) suggested that William Windham was an energetic member of the Gregorian Order.

While Robison was in Scotland at work on his *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, the Abbé Barruel, a member of the Jesuit Society, was at work in England on his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme*,¹ a colossal attempt to prove the existence of a "conjunction" of philosophers ["Sophists" as the Abbé with nauseating repetition calls them] and Freemasons to overthrow the thrones and altars of Christendom. That the two authors were engaged independently in the same endeavour cannot be doubted, for when Robison's work fell into Barruel's hands, he was perturbed to find variations between the two books calculated to cause the public a certain amount of distrust. The Abbé published the first two of his four volumes in 1797, and the last two in 1798. During the interval Robison's book appeared, and between that time and the hurried issue of a third edition in 1798 Robison had come into possession of the Abbé's first two volumes, which he cites with satisfaction in an added Postscript of a garrulous kind. The Abbé, on the other hand, while passing some flattering remarks on the Professor's patriotic intentions, deals severely with his documentation. He writes:—

"Without our knowing, we have laboured on the same subject, and for the same cause: but the Public will see my citations and those of M^r. Robison, and in them the Public will find some remarkable differences" (p. xviii). He then goes on to affirm that Robison had taken extraordinary liberties with the texts he professes to be quoting—paragraphs gathered from here and there and cast from memory into the same mould, personal observations "mingled with citations within inverted commas, and things which the writings of the Illuminati show to have only been imagined by them in respect to their enemies spoken of as true. In a word, excepting one or two letters which can be described as translations, the citations which M^r. Robison gives in the form of letters are not

¹ The Abbé, when he finds that he himself is not quite convinced as to the truth of his assertions and stories, pleads that the title of his work shows that he is not writing as an historian but as a compiler of *mémoires pour servir* from which it is the business of the historian to select. Surely the practice of throwing mud in the hope that some of it at least will stick is a privilege to which not even a clergyman can lay claim.

citations: to attempt to find them in the letters of the Illuminés¹ would be a loss of time. They are extracts taken from one place or another, even in the discourses on the mysteries, which in no way have the form of letters. Mr. Robison gives them his *tournure*, his style, and chiefly he comments, he makes the *Illuminés* speak more clearly than they would desire”.

The following is a characteristic specimen of Robison's style and accuracy. I will place my comments side by side with the passage I quote. Of the Duke of Orleans he writes (pp. 380-81):—

“His immense fortune, much above three millions sterling, was almost exhausted during the first three years of the Revolution. But (what was of more consequence) he had almost unbounded authority among the Free Masons. In this country we have no conception of the authority of a National Grand Master. When Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, by great exertions among the jarring sects in Germany, had got himself elected Grand Master of the *Strict Observanz*, it gave serious alarm to the Emperor, and to all the Princes of Germany, and contributed greatly to their connivance at the attempts of the *Illuminati* to discredit that party. The authority of the D. of Orleans in France was still greater, in consequence of his employing his fortune to support it. About eight years before the Revolution he had (not without much intrigue and many bribes and promises) been elected Grand Master of France, having under his direction all the *Improved Lodges*”.

The Prince was elected at the Convent of the S.O. at Kohlo in May, 1772, when Weishaupt, the founder of Illuminism, was still a professor of Canon Law at Ingolstadt University.

“Eight years before the Revolution”—1781. The Grand Lodge of France was in abeyance, its G. Master, the Comte de Clermont, dying, June 16th, 1771. It reassembled on June 21st, and on the 24th Orleans [the Duc de Chartres] was elected Grand Master. It was not until April 5th, 1772, the Duc accepted the office. (Daruty, *Recherches*, p. 111.) On

¹Barruel speaks of the Illuminati of Bavaria as “Illuminés”. In this paper, to obviate confusion, I use “Illuminés” to denote the French Masonic Mystics, who may be described as “transcendental Christians” and “Illuminati” to denote the German “Rationalists” attached to Weishaupt's movement. As an instance of Robison's faulty method, Barruel refers to a citation from one of Weishaupt's letters. (Robison, p. 165.) “On m'a demandé ce que c'étoit, dans le texte Allemande, que cet *even d*, auquel il ajoute la parenthèse. (Can this mean death?) Ce qui en fran ois se rendroit par: même à m. J'ai été forcé de répondre que l' *even d*—étoit une addition, aussi bien que la parenthèse”. (P. xx.) The passage in Robison is: “We have tried every method in our power to destroy the child; and I hope she is determined on every thing—even d——”. (Can this mean death?) “But, alas! Euriphon is, I fear, too timid”. At the end of the 3rd Edition of his book, Robison has:—

ERRATUM:

P. 166, l. 2, *delete* “even d—— (Can this mean death?)”

What Barruel calls an “Appendix” is this “Postscript” Robison added to the 3rd Edition. On p. 535 he writes: “Since the publication of this volume”. He must mean “since the publication of the former edition”, etc., for he has cited Barruel earlier (pp. 137 and 383). The French translation of Robison's book was published in 1789.

Dec. 24th, 1772, a number of dissentients declared the Grand Lodge of France dissolved and its place taken by a Grand Lodge National, and it was this latter schismatic body which became the Grand Orient. This new Grand Lodge at first made vain efforts to induce the Duke to become its Grand Master, the Duke refusing to receive a deputation. In the end he allowed himself to be persuaded, and was installed, October 22nd, 1773, at his villa, la Folie-Titon. (*Ibid*, p. 120.) The authentic Grand Lodge continued its existence, and was probably a stronger body than the Grand Orient.

“The whole Association was called the Grand Orient de la France, and in 1785 contained 266 of these Lodges (see *Freymaurische Zeitung*, Neuwied,¹ 1787). Thus he had the management of all those Secret Societies; and the licentious and irreligious sentiments which were currently preached there were sure of his hearty concurrence. The same intrigues which procured him the supreme chair must have filled the Lodges with his dependents and emissaries, and these men could not earn their pay better, than by doing their utmost to propagate infidelity, immorality, and impurity of manners”.

If by “Improved Lodges”, Robison means the “reformed” or “accepted” Lodges of the Strict Observance, it is to be noted that the oldest of those Lodges came into existence at Lyons at the end of 1776. The Strict Observance Lodges were under their own Directories and related to the Grand Orient by concordats. In 17 the Grand Master of the Strict Observance Directory at Lyons was the Duc de Havre.

The assertion that Orleans obtained his office by bribery is simply an inference drawn *à priori* by Robison from the fact that the Duke was rich enough to offer bribes. That that sinister personage ever took a continuous active part in Masonry may well be doubted, and it is a well established fact that when the Revolution broke out, so far from using the Lodges as his instruments, he allowed the reins of office to slip out of his hands. A glance at the list of Officers of the Grand Orient in 1787 would suffice to show how little that body was capable of promoting secret political designs.

The following passage from Robison’s book affords a good instance of the carelessness which Barruel has exposed:—

“The office bearers of one of the Lodges of Philalethes in Paris were Martin, Willermooz,² (who had been deputy from the Chevaliers

¹ It was the case that the Grand Orient in November, 1780, constituted a Grande Loge Provinciale at Neuwied in Westphalia, and that Neuwied became a hot-bed of the Illuminati. The List of 1787 shows that “Le Grand Orient ignore si cette loge est en vigueur”.

² Jean Baptiste Willermoz. On p. 49, Robison writes: “This Lodge of Lyons sent a deputy to a grand convention in Germany in 1772, viz. Mr. Willermooz, and that business was thought of such importance that he remained there two years”. The Convent of Wilhelmsbad took place in 1782. Prof. Rijnberk, who is making a thorough study of Willermoz, has most generously placed at my disposal a letter from that person to the Marquis Chefdebien (see Bro. Tuckett’s art. in *A.Q.C.*, xxx.) which shows that

Bienfaisants to the Wilhelmsbad Convention), Chappell, Minet,¹ de la Henriere² and Savatier de l'Ange.³ In another [the *Contract Social*] the Political Committee consisted of La Fayette, Condorcet, Pethion (*sic*), d'Orleans, Abbé Bortolio, d'Aiguillon, Bailly, Marq. de la Salle, Despresmenil. This particular Lodge had been founded and conducted by one De Leutre, an adventurer and cheat of the first magnitude, who sometimes made a figure, and at other times was without a shilling. At this very time he was a spy attached to the office of the police of Paris. The Duke of Orleans was Warden of the Lodge". (P. 403.)

From this you would gather that the Duke of Orleans was a warden of Lodge *Contrat Social*. Our author continues:—

"The Abbé Sieyès was a Brother Orator, but not of this Lodge, nor (I think) of the former. It was *probably* of the one conducted by Mirabeau and the Abbé Perigord. But it appears from this piece which I am at present borrowing, that Sieyès was present in the meetings of both Lodges, probably as a Visiting Brother, employed in bringing them to common measures".

I italicise the word "*probably*". Why should Robison be doubtful? Had he not written:—

P. 50. "Sieyès was of the Lodge of Philalethes at Paris".

"The Bishop of Autun,⁴ the man so bepraised as the benevolent Citizen of the World . . . was Senior Warden of another Lodge at Paris established in 1786, (I think chiefly by Orleans and himself,) which afterwards became the Jacobin Club".

P. 373. "In the year 1786⁵ Mirabeau, in conjunction with the Duke de Lauzun and the Abbé Perigord, afterwards Bishop of Autun . . . reformed⁶ a Lodge of Philalethes in Paris, which met in the Jacobin College or Convent. It was one of the *Amis Réunis* . . . In 1788 he and the Abbé were Wardens of the Lodge".

If by "Martin"⁷ Saint Martin is meant, it may be affirmed that he, the Philosophe Inconnu, held no dealings with the Philalèthes. The statement that the Jacobin Club had its origin in a Masonic Lodge is astounding. When

he was back at Lyons in May, 1783. Willermoz had been a free associate of *Amis Réunis* in 1778. In 1782 he applied to be made a member, but was called on by that Lodge to withdraw the application, and he also received a satirical and injurious letter from Chefdebien. Our Bro. Tuckett wrote (*A.Q.C.*, xxx., p. 168): "there was an intimate connection between the Chevaliers Bienfaisants and the Philalètes, but that is a story which must be left to some future occasion". For "intimate connection" I would substitute "deep estrangement". The rupture between Willermoz and Chefdebien commenced at Wilhelmsbad. Saint Martin warned the former to have as few dealings as possible with Savalette. Papus (Dr. Gérard Encausse) *Saint Martin*, p. 194. See Gustave Bord: *Franco-Maçonnerie en France*, p. 351.

¹ Minet. The constitutional bishop of Nantes.

² Robison has split in twain the personality of Chappes de la Henrière, a military man, who, as Eques a Cruce Cœrulia in the Strict Observance, represented the Préfectures of Metz and Nancy at the Wilhelmsbad Convent.

³ Savalette de Langes. It is remarkable that while this person is gratuitously described by Barruel as "a famous revolutionary", Robison only mentions him in this place, and then to misspell his name.

⁴ Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord, Archbishop of Autun in 1788.

⁵ The Grand Orient in 1786 constituted only three new Lodges at Paris:—

Feb. 3. *La Constance Eprouvée* (dated back to Aug. 12, 1785).

Aug. 2. *Le Désir*.

Dec. 20. *St. Jean Baptiste*.

⁶ When Robison writes "reformed" he is using a term that applied to Lodges of the Strict Observance.

⁷ Among the founders of *Amis Réunis* was "Jean Antoine Martin, négociant".

Robison was sending to the Press the last sheets of the third edition of his book, he came across Montjoye's *La Conjuración d'Orleans*, and learned from it that the Jacobin Club had been formed by the Club Breton. His imagination at once soared even higher into the realms of the ridiculous, and he asserted: "This last appears to have been the Association formed with the assistance of the German Deputies" (p. 499¹). In passing, we may notice that Barruel (iv., p. 359 and p. 427) represents "Syëys, de tous les Frères les plus zélés" of *Loge des Neuf Sœurs*, as "composing for himself a new Lodge at the Palais Royal, called the Club des Vingt deux—the elect of the elect". Barruel, albeit at Paris during the first two years of the Revolution, draws just as Robison does, on German sources of information, and it is possible that his German informant represented *Clubs* as *Lodges*. Both writers speak of a Masonic body called *La Propagande*. Writing of the Société de 1789, M. Challamel tells us that the Monarchist journal, *les Actes des Apôtres*, gave to that Society the name of "the Club de Propagande".

II.—THE ABBÉ AUGUSTUS BARRUEL, S.J.

Born in 1741 at Villeneuve de Berg, in the Diocese of Viviers, and of ancient lineage, Augustus was educated by the Jesuits; entered that Society, and on its suppression in France resided for some years in Moravia and Bohemia. He travelled in Italy as tutor to a young nobleman. The date of his return to France, M. Dussault, the writer of the biographical notice prefixed to the sixth edition of the Abbé's *Les Helvetiennes ou Lettres Provinciales Philosophiques*, was not able to determine. The title of that work seems to show that it was an attempt to wither the godless philosophers with satire akin to that which Pascal had bestowed on the Jesuits. In the course of the controversy, Barruel by his attack on the Abbé Jean Louis Giraud Soulavie, who in his *L'Histoire Naturelle de la France* had spoken of sea shells discovered in the Vivarais mountains beneath layers of petrified plants, and thereby challenged the reputation of Moses as a geologist, led to an action regarding a theological issue being, much to the discomfort of the ecclesiastical authorities, brought before a secular court of law. According to Bachaumont's² *Mémoires Secrètes*, Soulavie was called on to end the trouble, and invited to accompany De la Peyrouse on his journey round the world, and offered

¹ The Breton Club was founded at Versailles at the time of the opening of the States General. When the Assembly (October, 1789) transferred itself to Paris, the Club made the house of the Dominicans, called "Jacobin", in the rue de Saint-Honoré, their headquarters, and took the names: "Club de la Révolution", "Société des Amis de la Constitution", and finally "Jacobin". Sieyès was the principal founder of another club—"the Club de 89", and this was composed of the more moderate members of the Sociétés des Amis de la Constitution, mainly those who, like Bailly, Lafayette, La Rochefoucauld, had taken part in the Committee of Electors of Paris. This Club, which met at the Palais Royal, lost its prestige when Bailly, Lafayette, etc., lost their popularity. The Club des Feuillants was formed, July 16, 1794, by a number of members of the Jacobin Club alarmed by the violent speeches of the orators who demanded the deposition of the King, and it gathered up the remnants of the Club de 89, and also included liberal-minded monarchists. It met in what had been a convent of nuns (founded by Anne of Austria in 1622; suppressed in 1790) close to the Tuilleries on a spot now merged into the Rue de Rivoli. One is led to suspect that the names of members of Lodges given by Robison and Barruel were obtained from lists of members of political clubs, printed in German newspapers. The Club de Valois, the earliest of the Clubs, of which Sieyès was the principal founder, was composed of members of the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie, and a number of its members latterly attached themselves to the Club Monarchique and others to the Feuillants. This Club, however, was not of a political kind. Among its members were the Duc d'Orleans, "Savalette de Lange (M. de) rue Saint Honoré, 329. Garde du Trésor royal. Membre de l'Assemblée des Trois Ordres, à Paris. Capitaine au bataillon de Saint-Roch", the Duc de le Rochefoucauld, Lafayette, Condorcet, Bergasse, the Marquis de Salle, Parquin. See Challamel: *Les Clubs Contre-Révolutionnaires*.

² Bachaumont. *Mémoires Secrètes*. Tom. 5, xxvi.-xxix.

a pension of 6,000 livres, "an offer he declined on grounds of poor health".¹ "Reason armed with the whip of irony avenges Revelation", Barruel exclaimed: but the world at large laughed at Barruel. At that time he held the honorary appointment of Aumônier to the Princesse de Conti.² Eventually he came to Paris and collaborated in the *Année Littéraire* with Élie Catherine Freron, another foe of the Encyclopaedists, and the father of Louis Stanislas, the comrade of Danton and Camille Desmoulins. In Paris he doubtless became acquainted with the Abbé François Lefranc, the author of *Le Voile leve pour les curieux ou Secret de la Révolution révélé à la aide de la franc-maçonnerie* and possibly another pamphlet, *Conjuration contre la religion catholique et les souverains*. The Abbé Lefranc, Superior General of the Eudistes at Caen, perished in the September Massacre of prisoners detained at the Convent des Carmes.³ According to M. Dessault, Barruel had in 1790 already published a dissertation, *Sur les vraies causes de la Révolution actuelle*. It would be interesting to find out if in that work the Abbé had already placed his fingers on Freemasonry. After his flight to England, he published in 1793 or 1794 an *Histoire des Clergé pendant la Révolution*. It must be obvious at once to anyone who glances through that work that labour conducted at so great a speed could scarcely have been accurate, and in fact it was not. The Abbé's undisciplined imagination is in evidence in pages which required no exaggeration to tell so pathetic a tale. At the time when he was engaged in writing this book he was also employed in writing one on the Divorce law. It would, however, be beside my purpose to enumerate his many books and pamphlets on ecclesiastical subjects, but it perhaps will not be out of place to say that when he took up his pen to persuade the refugee French clergy in England to accept Bonaparte and his Concordat, reasonable as an appeal to expediency might have been, he logically completed a *volte face*, and could no longer be regarded as a champion of Bourbon absolute monarchy.

Barruel's account of his own admission to Masonry is well calculated to arouse suspicion. In view of the revelations he is making in his book, he could not allow it to be believed that in so doing he is violating a solemn obligation to secrecy. Neither would he like his fellows to suppose that he ever took an oath they represented as iniquitous. The passage I am about to quote is lengthy, but it reveals the personality of the man whom we are studying, and illustrates the saying of M. Alphonse Daudet that every Frenchman is at least a little of Tartarin of Tarascon:—

"During the more than thirty years past it was difficult not to meet with in France and especially at Paris some of the men admitted into the Masonic Society. They were found among my acquaintances, and

¹ On p. 217 T. II., of his *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*, Barruel refers to "l'Apostat Soulavie". Vicar-General of the Diocese of Chalons, Soulavie at the Revolution took the constitutional oath and married. Imprisoned as a Robespierist in 1794, he escaped capital punishment. He published a number of historical memoirs. Died in 1813.

² The Rev. W. M. W. Fanning, in his art. on Barruel in the [Roman-] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, says that the Revolution "forced Barruel to seek refuge in England, where he became almoner to the refugee Prince de Conti". The title 'Aumonier' to the Princess de Conti appears on the title-page of his *Le Patriote Vëridique* published in 1789 and on the *Histoire du Clergé* published in 1794. I believe that the Prince de Conti, who, although no friend to the Revolution, had taken the oath to the Constitution and was unwilling to emigrate, was ultimately deported to Spain, and died at Barcelona in 1814.

³ In the *Hist. du Clergé* (p. 273) Barruel records his visit to some of the priests in prison at the Hôtel de la Mairie prior to the September Massacres. It is strange, being in Paris at that time, he makes no mention of Mgr. de Salamon, the Papal Internuncio, who escaped from the massacre. Cf. Bridier: *L'Internonce à Paris*. Thory (*Act. Lat.*, i., 192) records, as to the September Massacres, that a M. Ledhni, a soldier in Bro. Tassin de l'Étang's loyal Battalion des Filles de St. Thomas, and a Freemason, in attempting to rescue the Abbé Lefranc, met with his own death.

among them were several whose regard and friendship were dear to me. With all the zeal common to young adepts, they pressed me to make myself numbered in their confraternity. My refusal being constant, they took the step of enrolling me in despite of myself. The project was formed: I was invited to dine at a friend's house: I found myself the only profane person in a body of Masons. The repast finished and the servants sent away, the proposal to form a lodge and to initiate me was made. I persist in my refusal and especially as to keeping a secret of which the object was unknown to me. I am dispensed from this oath: I still resist: they press me, especially by telling me that there was not the least harm in Masonry, and that its moral is excellent: I reply by asking if it were better than that of the Gospel. Instead of replying to me, they form themselves into a lodge, and then commence all those antics, or those puerile ceremonies which one finds described in various masonic books, such as *Jaakim & Booz*. I seek to escape: the apartment is vast, the house is isolated: the servants have the word: all the doors are shut: it is necessary to submit to be at least passive, and let things take their course. Questions are put to me: I reply to nearly everything by laughter: Then I am declared apprentice, and soon companion. Ere long it is a third degree: it is that of Master which has to be bestowed on me. Here I am led into a vast hall: the scene changes and becomes more serious. In sparing me the painful proofs, I am not at least spared many insignificant and tedious questions. At the moment I was forced to let them play this comedy, I had been careful to say that, as there had been no means of preventing this farce, I had permitted them to let them do it: but if I should chance to perceive that there was the least thing against honour or conscience, they would learn how to know me.

“Up to that point I had seen only a game, childish and burlesque ceremonies, despite all the gravity of tone they affected to assume: but I had not caused displeasure by any response. At last came the question which the Vénérable put to me gravely: ‘Are you ready, my brother, to execute all the orders of the Grand Master of Masonry, even when you receive orders contrary to the part of a King, an Emperor, or any other Sovereign whosoever he may be?’ My reply was: ‘No’. The Vénérable looking astonished, replied: ‘What? No! You come among us then only to betray our secrets! What! You hesitate between the interests of Masonry and those of the profane! Don’t you know then that of all our weapons there is not one which is not ready to pierce the heart of traitors?’ In this question in a serious tone and in the menaces which accompanied it I still saw only a game: I did not reply to it any less negatively. I added what may easily be imagined: ‘Is it so pleasing to suppose that I have come here in search of the secrets of Masonry, I who am only here by force? You talk of secrets: you have not yet told me one of them. If, in order to arrive at that secret it is necessary to promise to obey a man I do not know, and if the interests of Masonry can compromise any of my duties, Adieu, Messieurs: there still is time, I know nothing of your mysteries: I do not desire to know anything of them’.

“This reply did not disconcert the Vénérable. He continued to play his rôle marvellously: he pressed me: he became even more menacing. I suspected without doubt that all these menaces were only a veritable game: yet I did not wish even in jest to promise obedience

to their Grand Master, especially on the supposition that his orders were ever contrary to those of the King. I again replied: 'Brethren or Messieurs, I have already warned you that that if in all your games anything contrary to honour or conscience should be found you will find out what sort of person I am: do what you choose with me: you will never get me to promise anything of the kind. Once again: No'.

"The Vénérable excepted, all the Brethren kept a mournful silence, although in reality they did nothing but amuse themselves at this scene. It became more serious between the Vénérable and myself. He did not desist: he kept on repeating his question in order to get the better of me, and wring from me a 'Yes'. In the end I felt myself exhausted. I had had my eyes bandaged: I tore off the bandage: I threw it on the ground, and thumping with my foot, I answered 'No' with every accent of impatience. Instantly all the Lodges started clapping hands in token of applause. The Vénérable then paid tribute to my constancy. 'There', said he with the others, 'there is a man of the sort of character whom we need, and who is a man of resolution'. I on my part said to them: 'Man of character! And how many do you find who resist your menaces? And you yourselves, Messieurs, have you not said yes to that question? And if you have said it, how do you hope to make me believe that in all your mysteries there is nothing contrary to honour or conscience?'

The tone that I had assumed upset the order of the Lodge; the Brothers approached me, saying that I took things too seriously, too literally; that they had never pretended to engage themselves to anything contrary to the duties of a good Frenchman; that I would none the less be admitted despite my resistance. The mallet of the Vénérable sent each to his place: he then announced my reception to the grade of Master, adding that if I did not yet know the secret of Masonry, it was because it could not be told me except in a more regular Lodge held with the ordinary ceremonies. In the meanwhile, he gave me the signs and passwords for the third degree, as he had already done for two others. This sufficed to admit me to a regular lodge: we found ourselves all Brothers, and I, in an after-dinner, Apprentice, Companion and Master Freemason, without having dreamed of such a thing in the morning". (Tom., II., Cap. ix.).

The Abbé goes on to tell us that, on the express condition that not a word should be said to him about an oath, he consented to attend a regular meeting of the Lodge. He attended, but refused to allow his name to be inscribed on the list of members transmitted to the Grand Orient:—

"It was agreed that day to receive an apprentice to whom the secret was to be given with all the ordinary forms, in order that I might myself learn it, as a simple witness".

Passing by the description of the making of this show candidate, we may come to what the Abbé declares he heard.

"Le Vénérable said to him [the Candidate] these words, that I have well retained, since you may judge with what impatience I had awaited them: 'My dear Brother, the secret of Freemasonry consists in these words: Égalité and Liberté: all men are equal and free; all men are brothers'. The Vénérable did not add a word: the Frère égal et libre was embraced. The Lodge was closed, and we passed gaily to the Masonic repast. I was so far from suspecting the least

ulterior intention in this famous secret that I gave way to laughter when I heard it. I said quite simply to those who had introduced me: 'If that is all your grand secret I knew it long ago.' "

His feeling was that true liberty under the auspices of the laws, equality in the sense that we are the children of an Heavenly Father, were truths we need not become Masons in order to learn, and he tells us that, during the Revolution, the Brethren of the Lodge he had attended all proved themselves to be 'bons Royalistes', with the exception of the Vénérable', 'que j'ai vu donner à plein collier dans le Jacobinism'.

The Abbé followed up the ocular demonstrations afforded him by this most extraordinary "Lodge" by paying an attentive ear to Masons whose enthusiasm led them to discuss higher degrees in the presence of one who had not been duly advanced, and by making guesses at the significance in rituals of capital letters representing words not printed in full. By the latter method he arrived at the meaning of the letters I.N.R.I. N. must stand for Nazareth: R. for Rex: the final J. for Judaeorum. I. stands for Judaeus: he guessed that and with an ingenuity worthy of Bonneville, who finds Jesuit secrets in the Fellow Craft Degree, Barruel (iii., p. 302) derived from the letters of the superscription on the Cross "An ordinary Jew of Nazareth, King of the Jews"! His guide to the Third Degree is Guillemain de Saint Victor's *Reccuil precieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramitique*, and so he tells us that the meaning of the Master "word" is "the flesh leaves the bones"¹ and this refers to Manes the founder of free Masonry, the heresiarch Manes, the "cubrique slave, whose flesh peeled off when he was burnt alive". (iii., p. 287 and p. 410 *et seq.*) He is aware that in "dans certaines loges" mention is made of a widow's son, but was not the cubrique slave a widow's son?

In the first two volumes, Barruel had said but little as to Weishaupt and the Illuminati of Bavaria. Up to the publication of these volumes in 1796 he had practically limited himself to maintaining that the Revolution was the result of an anti-Christian conspiracy originating in Voltaire and an anti-monarchical conspiracy originating in Montesquieu and Rousseau. He had read Luchet's *Essai sur la Secte des Illuminés*, but that book would have tended to put him on the wrong scent, for the sect which Luchet and Mirabeau attacked was, not the German rationalists who are more conveniently designated the Illuminati, but the pietist Rose-Croix companions, the Christian Transcendentalists known as Martinists, and the occultists who had reposed a confidence in Cagliostro. All these latter incompatible persons Barruel muddles together in a common denunciation, and with them, of course, the exponents of the Templar theory of the origin of Freemasonry, with which last Cadet de Gassicourt's² *Le Tombeau de Jacques Molay* had made him familiar. Robison's attack on Freemasonry, on the other hand, is dependent on the connection Robison attempts to institute between the admittedly subversive doctrines of the German Illuminati and French Freemasonry. In his last two volumes, published after the appearance of Robison's book, the Abbé adopted the Scotch professor's mode of attack, and the revelations made

¹ "The literal explanation of these words, according to the Masons, is *la chaire quitte les os*. This explanation itself rests on a mystery which the penalty of Manes explains very naturally. This heresiarch had promised to cure by his wonders the King of Persia's child. The young prince died: Manes fled, but was soon discovered and brought back to the King, who had him roasted alive on reeds". (iii., p. 410.) This, he suggests, accounts for the fact that members of Rose Croix in memory of Manes observe Maundy Thursday as their Easter festival! Probably the Abbé borrowed this from a dissertation by Luccagni.

² Cadet Gassicourt must have repented of his book, for he subsequently became Master of a Parisian Lodge. *Vide* Besuchet. Barruel had read with approval Nicolai's refutation of the Templar legend. *Cf. Mémoires*. Tom., II., p. 475.

by Lefranc, and the Templars, and Manes, "the cubrique slave", became of secondary importance as compared with Weishaupt,¹ Knigge and Bode. This alteration is accounted for by the fact that the first two volumes had brought this author into touch with a Mason, who after the excesses of the Revolution had been attributed to Secret Societies, was anxious to save his own person, by revealing to the world everyone else's secrets, in the hope that his own vagrations from modernism to rigid orthodoxy, his own Masonic fictions and pretences, his alliances and his breaches of good faith, might, thanks to a princely protector, be allowed to pass into oblivion. This person was the Lutheran pastor, Jean Auguste Starck, concerning whom our Bro. Telepneff has read an illuminative paper before the Lodge. (*A.Q.C.*, xli.) There can be not the least doubt, not that Barruel owed the materials for volumes iii. and iv. of his *Mémoires* mainly to Starck,² but also to the Viennese journalist Léopold Aloys Hoffman. The blundering use he made of the materials furnished him by Starck gave the latter the opportunity of setting forth his own book as the achievement of a "Master of those who know".

After Barruel had ostensibly made peace with the Revolution by returning to France to accept Bonaparte, he probably became aware of the fact that men such as Talleyrand and Sieyès were not in principle anarchists as he had depicted them. In later years, when the German Illuminati had ceased to occupy public attention, and Starck's *Triumph of Philosophy* served Barruel's cause better than Barruel's *Mémoires*, the Abbé looked to the Jews as the fomentors of a Masonic attack on Christian Society. He maintained by his "good money" a freemason, whom he called "my man", although he suspected his man betrayed both parties. From this confidant Barruel claims to have learned in good time of Napoleon's return from Elba, and that he consequently had been able to go into concealment before the police arrived at his abode. He died at Paris on October 8th, 1820, after having lived to see men whom he had denounced as Jacobins in high favour at the restored Bourbon Court.

III.—THE LOGE DES NEUF SOEURS.

In this paper where it is necessary for me to define the religious or political opinions of any person concerned in the history I do so without entering into any discussion as to the rectitude of those opinions. I may, however, be permitted to say that, if there are anti-God Sunday Schools within the sound of Bow Bells at the present time, I would not on that account feel myself called on to condemn the Sunday Schools with which I am better acquainted as essentially identified with either atheism or bolshevism. I am not interested to deny that such-and-such a Freemason was a revolutionist of an advanced type, although I believe that in fact the number of out-and-out republicans in France was, before the flight of the King and the Queen to Varennes, very small. In my belief it was rather the case that the Revolution caused Freemasonry in France to be what it is to-day, than that Freemasonry brought about the Revolution. My purpose in preparing the present paper has been, not to challenge theories, but to examine some of the facts brought forward to substantiate conclusions which I am not inviting you to discuss. If, however, we were to enter on such a discussion, we would have to take into account a state of political feeling which on the eve of the Revolution came, not from the works of Voltaire and much less from those of Montesquieu, but from America. The influence of the American Revolution is a subject which Barruel ignored.

¹ Barruel was aware of the fact that Weishaupt did not attach himself to Freemasonry until two years after he had set his own Order at work. *Mémoires*, iii., p. xix.

² Blume: *J. A. Starck et la Querelle du Crypto-Catholicisme en Allemagne*.

Despite all the personal qualifications the Abbé lays claim to, his knowledge even of Paris appears to be confused and inaccurate. Of the Lodges in Paris he can only mention four by name. Of these, *Loge Contrat Social* and *Loge des Amis Réunis* I shall have to speak at some length. The aristocratic *Loge Candeur* he regards as a society of "dupes". The fourth Lodge is the celebrated *Lodge Neuf Sœurs*.¹ Anyone who has read Louis Amiable's History of that Lodge would suppose that the Abbé Barruel would have a great deal to say as to the opinions and political activities of its members. Amiable was a fervent admirer of the Revolution, and as such he gladly accepted on the Abbé's unsupported testimony a number of names of prominent revolutionaries not recorded in the Lodge Lists. Louis Blanc paid a like deference to the Abbé, and accepted these names without seeking for any other authority. Consequently, French anti-Masonic protagonists, who would be shy of citing Barruel, rely on Louis Blanc. Perhaps the most important of those names is that of Condorcet. Amiable was unable to prove that that philosopher belonged to the Lodge, his name not appearing in either of the lists of 1779, in which that of Voltaire appears, nor in that of 1783. It was not until after the attempted flight of Louis XVI. that Condorcet declared himself as a republican. The theory of government stated in a pamphlet published by him in 1789 is not one which would be agreeable to Barruel, but this pamphlet certainly is not directed against the Monarchy. Having stated that since the origin of the French Constitution, the executive power had been placed in the hands of the King, Condorcet goes on to say "His person is sacred, since his authority is legitimate and is the depository of all the forces of the citizens in causing the laws to be executed". When, however, Condorcet turned a *volte face*, he was bitterly attacked by Lamétherie, whose name appears on the Lodge List in 1784, who charged Condorcet with base ingratitude to the King, to whom he owed his appointment at the Treasury, with changing his professed opinions to serve his temporary interest, and propagating calumnies which were responsible for the assassination of his benefactor the Duc de La Rochefoucauld. Lamétherie declared himself to be a loyal subject of Louis XVI.²

The Abbé represents Brissot as a member of *Neuf Sœurs*. In his *Memoirs* (Cap. xiv.) Brissot speaks of his initiation as having taken place in a German lodge. He had hitherto not taken the alleged secrets seriously, but his friend, the Comte Schmettau,³ son of the famous Marshal, persuaded him that the

¹ An interesting account of the Lodge of Adoption connected with this Lodge will be found in Georges Bertin's *Madame de Lamballe*. M. Bertin writes of Barruel's account of the terrible death of Madame de Lamballe: "Le récit de l'Abbé Barruel est un tissu de faussetés, écrites pour les besoins de la cause qu'il défend, avec une partie pris d'exaggeration voulue". The reference is to the Abbés *Histoire du Clergé pendant la Révolution*.

² [Lamétherie] à Messieurs (les Electeurs de Paris). Brit. Mus., F. 292, 21. Extracted from the *Journal de Physique*. Refers to Condorcet's pamphlet: *Un Roi, est-il nécessaire à la conservation de la liberté*. Robison (p. 452) writes carelessly "De la Méthorie says (*Journ. de Phys.* Nov. 1792) that Condorcet was brought up in the house of the old Duke of Rochefoucauld, who treated him as his son—got Turgot to create a lucrative office for him, and raised him to all his eminence—yet he pursued him with malicious reports—and actually employed ruffians to assassinate him". Lamétherie does not say that Condorcet "employed ruffians" but that he "poursuivi par les plus lâches calomnies la Rochefoucauld jusqu'à ce qu'il soit tombé sous le fer des assassins". The reference should be not to the *Journal*, but to *Observations sur la Physique*, Tom. XLI., p. 394, which Lamétherie conducted with the Abbé Jean Rozier, Canon of Lyons, and the Abbé M. J. B. Mongez, Canon-Regular of St. Germain. The former was an eminent officer of the Grand Orient, and was killed in his bed by a bomb during the siege of Lyons: the latter was a member of *Lodge Neuf Sœurs*. The *Journal* was a revival of the *Observations* in 1794, after the latter had been discontinued during the political crisis. Barruel's translator goes further and represents Condorcet as sending assassins to murder the Duke!

³ The Comte Schmettau had founded in 1741 or 1742 a *Loge Ecossaise l'Union* at Berlin composed of members of the *Lodge Trois Globes*. He also founded at Hambourg a Lodge called *Judica*. Forestier (*Les Illuminés de Bavière*, p. 145).

association served a useful end in either increasing the welfare of humanity or delivering it from tyrants. So he went through the ordeal, but either because he did not advance in the grades or because he considered the business to be nothing more than humbug (*pure niaiserie*), his aim was "frustrated". "My friend Bonneville and Thomas Paine, to whom I recounted this anecdote, and who pride themselves on possessing all the secrets of the order, have since assured me that I had judged it very badly".¹

Nicolas Bonneville, whom the Abbé adds to the list of members of *Neuf Sœurs*, is the author of a book entitled *Les Jesuits chassés de la Maçonnerie*, and Barruel was aware that the Lodge *Contrat Social* caused this book to be burnt in open Lodge. The book, satirically dedicated to a Lodge, *Réunion des Etrangers*, which appears to have worked explicitly Christian degrees, is an attempt by means of a far-fetched 'key', to discover the handwork of Jesuits in Pritchard's *Masonry Dissected* and George Smith's *Use and Abuse of Freemasonry*. Dr. Le Harwel, in a work on Bonneville published by the University of Strasbourg, has expressed the opinion that during a visit to England, Bonneville had picked up some Masonic literature and learned a little from friends who chanced to be Masons, but in reality he had never been admitted a member of the Craft.

The Abbé Claude Fauchet, afterwards constitutional Bishop of Calvados, and guillotined in 1793, is numbered by Barruel with the members of Lodge *Neuf Sœurs*. At a crowded meeting at the Palais Royal, this fervent Christian Socialist eulogised Freemasonry as a world-wide society "possessing the means of gathering together the human family by the rights of nature and welfare". "We know not the internal secrets of the Lodges", he said, "but the Universe knows the general object, which is but concord and friendship". He spoke contemptuously of the mass of free-brothers who have only undergone "vulgar proofs" and do not understand the significance of the ceremonies, but, even so, their common repasts and innocent pleasures promote feelings of friendship and inculcate duties of mutual support". "Venerable Brothers, I have neither sought nor desired to be initiated in your mysteries, for the truth escapes me, and I could not promise to keep it a profound silence".

This oration aroused much criticism for the Orator had incidentally spoken slightly of Voltaire! Its pro-Masonic character irritated Anacharsis Clootz. The *Journal des Clubs* read in it a design to promote the interests of Orleans and Artois. La Harpe wanted to be told how Fauchet, not being a Mason, could know what he had been talking about. Then Bonneville came to the rescue, and in the pages of the *Mercure de France* explained to the world that Masonry is a whimsical form of Pantheism!²

The other persons whom Barruel adds to *Neuf Sœurs* are Danton, Bailly, Sieyès, Garat, the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, Dolomieu,³ Camille des Moulins, Goupil de Preslin, the ex-Jesuit Cerutti (died 1792), Faucoroy, Millin, Bonne, Château-Randon [Châteauneuf-Randon?], Noel, Gudin, Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, Petion ("Pethion"), Dom Gerle, Mulot, the Abbé Pingré⁴ and Chenier—which of the two well-known brothers Chenier he does not distinguish. At the beginning of 1790 the *Neuf Sœurs*, ceased to be a Masonic Lodge and became "la Société Nationale des Neuf Sœurs". If Camille des Moulins and Danton

¹ *Mémoires de Brissot*, p. 114.

² Chanier, J. *Claude de Fauchet*. Tom II.

³ Deodat Guy Sylvain Tancrede Garet de Dolomieu, Commander of the Order of Malta, the geologist, whose name has been given to the Dolomites. A member of the Club des Feuillants. (Challamel, *Les Clubs Anti-Rev.*, p. 303.)

⁴ The Abbé Alexander Guy Pingré, an eminent astronomer, was a Vénérable of Lodge *Etoile Polaire*. G. Bord, *Op. Cit.*, p. 256, cites a certificate of "Chevalier de S. André d'Ecosse admis au complément de l'Art Royal, en sa qualité d'apprenti, compagnon et maître", granted to Pingré by the Baron T. H. Tschoudy, 25th August, 1766.

had indeed been members of the Lodge or the Society it is at least strange that in April, 1790, it should have been attacked as an assembly of aristocrats by the *Observateur*, and later on in the year its utility denied by another journal on the ground that its members were forbidden to express opinions on the conduct of the Minister, the National Guard, etc. It is certain, however, that Barruel does give the names of some who were members of the Lodge, for instance, the Marquis de la Salle, Pastoret, Mercier, Lalande, La Cépède, Lamétherie. It is a pity that he did not know that Romains de Sèze, the confidential friend of Marie Antoinette, and the advocate who pleaded the cause of Louis XVI. before the Revolutionary Tribunal, was a member of the Lodge. Pastoret, who was in fact a monarchist, after the Restoration of the Bourbons, was created a Peer of France.

In dealing with "*la Maçonnerie Mystique*", Barruel, who cites "the apostate Dom Gerle as a member of Lodge *Neuf Sœurs*", touches upon the connection of that crack-brained person with the Prophetess Labrousse (ii., p. 368). He then goes on to say that this "*Maçonnerie Mystique*" was the system of "the imbecile Varlet, bishop *in partibus* of Babylon". "I did not know" the Abbé continues, "whence he derived opinions when he had the kindness to reproach me for having combatted them". The Abbé was born in October, 1741, and Varlet, the Bishop of Babylon, to whom the bishop of the Old Catholic Church of Holland owes the preservation of its Apostolic succession, died at the Hague on May 14, 1742, at the time when Barruel would be cutting infantile teeth. Writing of Bishop Varlet, the learned John Mason Neale, says "Not unnaturally, the character of this prelate has been drawn in the blackest colour by Ultramontane writers. But his intimate friendship with great and good men, like Arnould and the rest of the Port Royalists, and the particular esteem which Van Espen entertained for his character and writings, would have secured for him, even if his own acts had not done so, an honourable mention in the annals of the Church. His letters, many of which I have read in the Archives, are full of a tenderness and unction which might not have been expected from the author of the too ponderous learning which distinguishes his two 'Apologies'.'" ¹

Before leaving Lodge *Neuf Sœurs* we may notice that René Fülöp-Miller in his *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits* asserts (p. 436) that Lamettrie, "the first 'enlightener' to make the attempt to reduce the so-called spirit to purely material causes" (p. 428), was with Montesquieu (died 1755), Helvetius (died 1751), a member "of the Parisian Lodge 'at the Nine Sisters'". The Lodge was founded in 1776. He had doubtless got confused between Lamétherie and Lamettrie, the latter died in 1751.

IV.—THE LODGE IN THE RUE COQ-HÉRON—LODGE CONTRAT SOCIAL.

In the year 1766 the *Mère Loge Écossais* of Marseilles ² founded at Papal Avignon a *Loge d'Écosse de Vertu Persecutée*, which soon styled itself the *Mère Loge Écossaise de Comtat Venaissin*.³ About the same time, the Grande Loge de France, shortly before its period of abeyance, constituted a *Loge de Saint Lazare*,

¹ J. M. Mason: *A History of the So-called Jansenist Church of Holland*, p. 283.

² Founded in 1751.

³ This body founded at Avignon an Académie des Sages. The Ex-Benedictine Monk Perneti did not found his society at Avignon till 1785 or after. The Comte Grabianca's Swendenborgian Lodge at that place comes later still.

of which Lazare Philibert Bruneteau,¹ the director of a military training school for the sons of noblemen, was the founder. During the abeyance of Grand Lodge, Lodge Lazare sought and obtained a new constitution from the Mère Loge Écossaise of Marseilles as *Loge Saint Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social*, and thus became sister to the Avignon Lodge. It, however, returned to the obedience of the Grand Lodge of France, when that body revived: but in 1773 it forsook that allegiance, and was re-constituted as Lodge Saint Lazare by the Grand Orient. The story of these wanderings from one obedience to another is not unimportant to our present study, as it goes to show how little ground there is for believing the assertion that all the Lodges in France before the Revolution were dominated by the Grand Orient and could be wire-pulled at the nod and beck of the Duke of Orleans. Barruel would have it that English Freemasonry proved practically innocuous since in it the "higher degrees" have not played anything like the same part those developments have done in France. It was the very attempt of the Grand Orient to control those degrees which exposed its inherent weakness and lack of authority. The failure of the Grand Orient to carry out its undertaking to introduce system into the higher degrees led to dissatisfaction with that body, while to the members of a Parisian Lodge the control of the Strict Observance by a sovereign body in Germany was distasteful. As Daruty well puts it, a *rite écossais national* would be preferable to a *rite écossais allemand*.² While the thoughts of the members of St. Lazare would be turning in that direction, a misfortune of seemingly the gravest kind befell the Avignon Lodge. The latter, early in 1775, received a visit from the Dominican Father Mabile, who, as Inquisitor, removed the books, records, and furniture, and closed the Lodge.³ This event in the following year led to the conjunction of the *Mère Loge Écossaise du Comtat Venaissin* with the independent Saint Lazare. The title of Saint-Lazare was abandoned, and the title "*Saint-Jean d'Écosse, Mère Loge Écossaise de France*" adopted. The rite worked by the Lodge and its Chapters is the Rite Écossaise Philosophique. Between 1776 and 1788 it constituted thirty-six lodges. From the date of its revival in 1805, after abeyance in 1793, it constituted another thirty-five. It would seem that the Rite Philosophique had special attraction to churchmen. The Lodge *Tendre Accueil* which it reconstituted at St. Maur (Glanfeuil) in 1779, was for three or four years in succession presided over by Dom Le Grand, the Prior of the famous Abbey, and in this Lodge there were at least five Benedictine Monks, three Augustinians, and six Cathedral dignitaries.⁴ In 1786 Thory, the Masonic Historian, was the Vénérable of the Lodge *Contrat Social*, and from March 10th 1788, he was its archivist. You will perhaps have noticed how in his *Acta Latomorum* he gives to the news of the Mère Lodge a parallel importance with the news of the Grand Orient. To the title "Mère Lodge" the Grand Orient took exception, and from May 18th to November 5th, 1781, the Lodge was held

¹ In a circular addressed to all Masons, Jan. 22, 1780, Labady, on behalf of the *Souverain Conseil des Empereurs d'Orient et d'Occident, Sublime Mère Loge (vulgairement dite) Écossaise du Grand Globe Français, Souveraine Grande Loge Française*, offers to admit them to higher degrees, but bids them "not to recognise the rights which a Lodge of St. Lazare, founded in 1767 by the Grand Lodge of France, and which, after having taken the title of Lodge *Contrat Social* since 1773, calls itself to-day the *Mère Loge Écossaise*, and desires to usurp the powers of the Sovereign Council, whose rites had been established by the acceptance made by the Duke de Chartres, since 1772, of the office of Grand Master". In view of the facts, this is self contradictory, as Labady had renounced the Grand-Orient obedience, but it serves to show (I write with the greatest deference to so high an authority) that Bro. Tuckett (I.Q.C., xxx.) was wrong in identifying "the Sublime Mère Loge Écossaise du Grand Globe Française" with "the R. M. L. Écossaise St. Alexandre D'Écosse et le Contrat Social Réunis". The title *Saint Alexandre d'Écosse* belonged to a daughter Lodge, and it was adopted when in 1801 *Contrat Social* revived.

² Daruty, *Recherches*, p. 256.

³ Thory, *Acta Lat.*, 1, p. 175.

⁴ Bord, *Op. Cit.*, p. 428.

by the Grand Orient to be "erased". A reunion was effected, however, by concordat, the Lodge *Contrat Social* consenting to restrict the use of the title *Mère Loge* to its internal correspondence, and to exchange the word "aggreger" for "constituer" in regard to its own Lodges and Chapters. The Lodges of the Rite Écossaise Philosophique were represented by their respective Deputies at the Grand Orient—an arrangement similar to that which existed between the Lodges of the Strict Observance, which had their own Grand Master in Germany, and the Grand Orient. When it is remembered that up to the time of the Revolution the Grand Lodge of France, which the Grand Orient had endeavoured to supplant, still existed, it will be seen that Masonry in France was not nearly so homogenous as Barruel and Robison would lead one to believe.

It is to be observed that, according to its Archivist, Thory (*Acta. Lat.*, i., p. 128), the Lodge, on Feb. 26, 1777, "condemned the grade of Knight of the Temple and all relating to the system of the Templars, whether of Dresden or of the Strict Observance". To obviate a misunderstanding, I may say here that the doctrine which claims the Order of the Temple as the fountain of Freemasonry is something quite apart from the doctrine of an Order to which many of us belong.

The Lodge *Contrat Social* was not wont to keep its light always under a bushel. It arranged for Masses to be sung with music specially composed for the occasion. Among its members was Sacchini, whose beautiful music is almost forgotten at the present day. In 1779 it purchased the historical Hôtel des Archives de la Grand Chancellerie de France in the Rue Coq-Heron, and while reconstructing it, preserved the famous gallery painted by Huet and adorned "by the great artists, who under Louis XII. had secured for France the beauties of Greece and Rome". In that year the Secretary of the Lodge was Bro. Deleutre, who seems to have been closely connected with Avignon. Both the Abbé and the Professor seek to find in the mission to Paris of the two Illuminati apostles, Johan Joachim Christopher Bode, who was "Amelius" in the Order, and the Baron de Busche, "Bayard" in the Order, the neck, so to speak, of a bottle through which the spirit of révolution and Jacobinism was poured into the French lodges. In his second volume Barruel had found the meeting-place of these apostles with French Freemasons in the Lodge *Contrat Social*. He, we shall see, had in his fourth volume to admit that he had blundered, but the Professor had gone still further astray. On p. 368 Robison asserts that Desprésmenil "was a member of the Lodge of the Amis Réunis at Paris called the Contract Social, and of the Lodge of *Chevaliers Bienfaisants* at Lyons"¹ (p. 368). The truth is that Lodge *Contrat Social* was a quite separate body from Savalette's de Lange's Lodge *Amis Réunis*, but Robison only in one place of his book mentions Savalette, whom he calls "Savelier". The idea that "réunis" must necessarily be a re-union after a split obsesses him, and so (p. 396) he muddles together Chevaliers Bienfaisants, who belonged to the Strict

¹ The degrees of Chevalier and Grand Profés were formed by Willermoz and his colleagues of the Strict Observance and established at the "National de Lyons" in 1778. In a letter written to the Duke of Brunswick, Willermoz writes: "I was much inclined to suppress . . . all that related essentially to particular occurrences in the Order of Templars and abolish it in connection with things more essential, but it was objected that by such suppression the link would be broken between the symbolic and the interior Orders and all connection between the French and German Lodges. It was also judged convenient to preserve in the fourth grade the principal features of the *écossimes* of French Masonry in order that some day they might serve as a point of re-union". Letter given in Rijnberk, *Martines de Pasqually*. There has been in the pages of Masonic writers a hopeless confusion between Martinism, Martinism, Élus Cohens, and the Strict Observance. Daruty (p. 228) makes the Baron Holbach, author of the *Système de la Nature* a fervent disciple of the spiritualistic Martinism Pasqually! Bord (p. 248) copies this. Daruty introduces in this connection "le célèbre peintre Van Loo", who died in 1745. He has mistaken the alchemist Onesime Henri de Loos for the painter.

Observance, with Philalèthes, and represents the mass as "Amis Réunis". If he had been able to examine a list of Lodges under the Grand Orient such as Daruty gives us in his *Recherches*, he would have seen that "Réunis" in the name of a Lodge can have no reference at all to "schisms". The source of Barruel's blunder may have been the source of Robison's. In reference to another matter he cites as an authority the book which the Abbé in his vol. iv. adduces in order to explain how he had been misled in his vol. ii.:—

*Les | Masques Arrachés | Historie Secrete | des Révolutions et Contre-
Révolutions | du Brabant et de Liège | . . . Par Jacques le
Suer | .*

The author of *Les Masques* refers to a Lodge at Paris called *Contrat Social*, presided over by a person called Deleutre, and he asserts that this Lodge had a secret Committee consisting of the "Abbé Bartolio, the Abbé Fauchet, the little Morel des Menus, the Duc d'Aiguillon, M. Bailly and the Marquis de Lafayette". He writes:—

"About the year 1782, I had purchased the secrets of the highest grades of Scotch Masonry possessed by an adventurer called de Leutre, who, condemned to be hung at Avignon, had become the founder of the Lodge in the Rue Coqheron. This Montebank, after having ruined the Marquis de la Salle,¹ turned the head of the Comte de Balbi² whom he made to believe that he was Jesus Christ, killed Bignon the King's Librarian, and the Marquis de Chabonnois, has made a hundred thousand crowns a day at the Masonic Chapel. He had acquainted me with all his jugglers' tricks, the way of making gold, of evoking shades and making them appear. At the time I facilitated his evasion from the Hotel de Chaumont which he occupied and which belonged to the Comte de Balbi; and when at last I got him received as a police-spy, he exhibited his gratitude to me by reading all his secrets and placing in a position to pass everywhere as an adept of the first order".

Robison assures us that in Lodge *Contrat Social* "the Political Committee consisted of La Fayette, Condorcet, Pethion³ (*sic*), d'Orleans, Abbé Bartholis⁴ (*sic*), d'Aiguillon,⁵ Bailly, Marq. de la Salle, Desprésmenil", and adds: "This particular Lodge had been founded and conducted by one De Leutre,⁶ an adventurer and cheat of the first magnitude, who some time made a figure, and at other times was without a shilling. At this very time he was a spy attached

¹ For the Masonic career of Adrien Nicolas, Marquis de La Salles, who succeeded Benjamin Franklin in the chair of Lodge *Neuf Sœurs*, see L. Amiable's History of that Lodge. A soldier of distinction, he won a reputation as an author of comedies, and was a member of the Academy of Sweden. On July 14th, 1789, he was elected to command the National Guard, and received the keys of the Bastille from its capturers. Governor of San Domingo, 1792. Lost his reason and died at Charenton, 1818.

² Husband of the Comtesse, celebrated for her liasion with the Comte of Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.).

³ "The Virtuous" Jérôme Petion de Villeneuve, deputy for the Tiers-Etat, 1789. Sent on the mission to bring the King back from Varennes. Mayor of Paris 1791-92. At the King's trial he voted in turn for an appeal to the people, then for death, then for a reprieve. A Girondin at the Convention. In July, 1794, his body was found worm-eaten among the cornfields of Saint Emilion.

⁴ The Abbé Antonio René Constance Bartolio was really a member of the *Contrat Social*. Secretary to the Assembly of Electors of Paris in 1789.

⁵ Armand de Vignerot Dupleix Richelieu, Duc d'Aiguillon. Was the second deputy of the noblesse to vote for the abolition of feudal privileges. After August 10th, 1792, fled to England. Died at Hamburg, 1800.

⁶ On p. 418 Robison writes: "It appears that a Club has taken the name of Propaganda, and meets once a week at least in the form of a Mason Lodge. It consists of persons of all nations, and is under the direction of the Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans. De Leutre is one of the Wardens".

to the office of the Police" (p.403). We turn to Barruel. Towards the close of his second volume, he is in search of a Lodge at Paris to which, as he and Robison asserted, came two emissaries of the German Illuminati to propagate their subversive doctrines. He finds it a Lodge which he thus describes:—

"The Lodge established at Paris, rue Coq-héron, presided over by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld,¹ had become more specially that of the grand Masons. After the central committee of the Grand Orient, it is there that the deepest councils were held; it is there moreover that Syeys (*sic*) and Condorcet held theirs with those of the Brethren whose zeal was best known. This was also the cradle of the new apostolate called the Propaganda".

On p. 361 of vol. 4 the Abbé admits that he had made a blunder. He writes:—

"The generality make them [*i.e.*, the Illuminati agents] descend the rue Coq-héron, and fulfil their mission at the Lodge *Contrat Social*. I fear that I have myself prepared my readers for that error, in the second volume of these *Mémoires*, Chap. 13,² of a Lodge established in the same street. But it is observable that I have only mentioned the sophists attached to the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, of whom not one belonged to this *Contrat-Social*. I could well have made a mistake about the name of the street at which the conspirators assembled, but at least I am not in error about the conspirators themselves. In order to distinguish them the better and not to confuse them with Masons of another kind, I have made the most careful researches, and amongst others I have procured a numerous list of the Brethren of the *Contrat Social*; I have recognised in it only men most royalist, and not a single one of those who distinguished themselves by revolutionary zeal. I have seen moreover the source of error so outrageous for this Lodge in what has been said, under the assumed name of Jacques le Suer, the author of *Des Masques Arrachés*, a filthy-smelling novel and full of calumnies of most respectable persons. This author places in the number of revolutionaries some men whom I knew at Paris, and who were always foes to the Revolution. He makes adepts of the *Social Contrat* some men who never belonged to that Lodge, such as the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, the Abbé Fauchet, Bailly, and Lafayette".

Les Masques Arrachés is on the face of it a work of fiction, although historical persons are introduced in it.³ The British Museum Catalogue identifies Jacques

¹ The Vénérable of *Contrat Social* was the Marquis de La Rochefoucauld Bayers, not the Duc de la Rochefoucauld [d'Enville]. The latter, albeit a man of liberal views, but certainly not a Jacobin, as President of the Department of Paris, had reported in strong terms to Roland the violence of the Jacobin Club. He lost his popularity after the suspension of Petion from the office of Mayor, and retired from political life. Massacred at Gisors in 1792. On p. 358, T. IV., Barruel claims that the Lodge *Neuf Soeurs* had this malheureux Duc de la Rochefoucauld "pour dupe protecteur des sophistes". In the Report referred to he denounces the Jacobin Club as a "chaire publique de diffamation" and a "pernecieuse école, which calumniates the King, the Tribunals, the chiefs of the army, applauds assassinations", etc., etc. Cf. Schmidt: *Tableaux de la Révolution Française*, i., p. 74 *et seq.* The Rochefoucauld-Bayers, who belonged to *Contrat Social*, was in the end a far more loyal adherent of the Bourbon dynasty than was the Abbé Barruel, for he was placed under arrest by Napoleon. I think he was a nephew of the two bishops of that name who perished in the September massacres.

² The reference is to Tom. II., p. 441, chapter xiv. Observe the loop-hole for an evasion in the suggestion of two Lodges "in the same street".

³ The hero's account of his initiation at an illuminism is drawn from Luchet's *Essay*. With an interjection "O, Luchet!" Thomas Carlyle has translated the description in his *Essay* on Cagliostro, omitting an indecent passage.

le Seur with a writer who wrote also under the names of De Beaunoir, M. Beaunoir, Madame Beaunoir, and Jan Schon Swaartz. Beaunoir is an anagram of Robineau, and it may be suggested that, if the Catalogue is correct in its identification, the author of *Les Masques Arrachés* was Alexandre Louis Bertrand de Robineau. In the 1778 list of members of Lodge *Neuf Sœurs* we find "Robineau de Beaunoir, attaché à la bibliothèque du Roi" Amiable records of him that from 1787 to 1789 he was manager of the theatre of Bordeaux, and that at the commencement of the Revolution he emigrated, and in Russia in 1796 was director of three Court Theatres. After his return to Paris in 1801 he was given a literary post under the Minister of Police. In that year Lodge *Contrat Social*, which soon after its appeal for support for constitutional monarchy had gone into abeyance, resumed working, but under the name of *St. Alexandre d'Écosse*. What by that time had become of Deleutre I have not been able to discover. Daruty (*Op. cit.*, p. 166) says that as a member of *Contrat Social*, he was in 1793 forced to go into exile, and that he died at Hamburg. M. Gustave Bord (*Op. cit.*, p. 261) states that his name is found as that of an honorary member of the *Mère Loge Écossaise* in 1812.

The Abbé has yet another admission to make. He had himself seen a *planche a tracer* of a letter sent by the Lodge *Contrat Social* calling on other Lodges to rally to the support of Louis XVI. as a constitutional monarch. But what, he asks, would that amount to? Is more in view than the "equality and liberty under a Roi Doge of the Sovereign people to whom Lafayette and Bailly would give their allegiance? The courage of the resolution passed by the Lodge after the ill-success of Louis' attempted flight counts for nothing in the esteem of one who cannot distinguish constitutional monarchy from Jacobinism. The convenient device of branding all Masons who cannot be claimed as Jacobins as stupid dupes is here resorted to by the Abbé. "Je n'écris pas l'histoire des Frères dupes: il me suffit de dévoiler les conjurés". It has been said that the lion on rampage effaces with his tail his foot-prints behind him: whether that is fact or fable, it is the strategy Barruel adopts. In his fourth volume he lays the blame for his error on Jacques le Suer, the author, he says, of a filthy book. There was another actual source of his misinformation, and that was the Swiss doctor Girtaner.¹ Barruel could not afford to impair the authority of a writer in whom he places so much confidence, so he leaves the rue Coq-héron to go in search of the conjurés in the Lodge in the rue de la Sourdière. With what success, we shall see.

In addition to the names of alleged members of *Contrat Social*, Robison had also (p. 50) given the names of Maury and Mounier. Maury, Archbishop *in partibus* in 1792, the opponent of Talleyrand, Cardinal in 1794, Ambassador

¹The Abbé (p. 442) says of Girtaner: "He lived in the midst of the Sophists and Masons: he lived subsequently in the midst of the Jacobins, hearing and seeing everything as a veritable observer. His quality as a foreign savant, a doctor, rendering him less suspect, he entered more in advance than others into the confidence of the brothers". Here the Abbé's spy-complex betrays itself, as it does when he ascribes similar preoccupations to the Comte de Gelliers. Forrester (*Les Illuminés de Bavière*, p. 635) writes:—"In his *Nouvelles historiques et considérations politiques sur la Révolution Française* (1793), the Swiss Girtaner, former Free-mason become a passionate adversary of Freemasonry, recounts (vol. iii., p. 470-2) that there existed at Paris in 1786 a Club de la Propagande, of which the chiefs were the Duke of La Rochefoucauld, Master in the Chair of the Lodge of the rue Coq-Héron, Condorcet and Sieyès, who sought to make dogmatic atheism triumph and provoke an upset of society. The affiliated members, charged to propagate the subversive principles of the Club, numbered 50,000. The treasury had in 1790 twenty millions *livres* and at the end of 1791 thirty millions". After this who can assert the arts of mendacity have made much progress since 1791? The Abbé Barruel perhaps would have not agreed that the most trustworthy informant as to the aims and methods of the Society to which he belonged is a Jesuit turned protestant agitator?

of Louis XVIII. at Rome, became Archbishop of Paris in 1810.¹ Mounier has himself with some warmth denied that he was ever a Mason, and as Barnave was one of Mounier's fellow citizens and Barnave is asserted by Robison to have been a Mason, it is interesting to note that Mounier has contradicted that statement also. The Abbé Fauchet, famous in connection with the taking of the Bastille, for his advocacy of a kind of Christian Socialism, became the Constitutional Bishop of Calvados. Montjoye in his *Conjuration de Philippe Orleans* (1796)—a book which Barruel quotes as an authority—states that he had seen letters in which Fauchet expressed his devotion to the monarchy.² Jean Jacques Duval d'Esprémenil, born at Pondichéry in 1746 and guillotined April 23, 1794, was deputy in 1787 at the Grand Orient of his famous Lodge *Neuf Sœurs*, and he was also a member of the Lodge *Amis Réunis*. His case is a good instance of the futility of Robison's method of attack. "Of all the barristers in the Parliament of Paris, the most conspicuous for the display of the enchanting doctrines of liberty and equality was M^r. Duval, son of an Avocat in the same Court, and ennobled about this time under the name of Desprésmenil. He was a member of a Lodge of the Amis Réunis at Paris, called the Contract Social and of the Lodge of Chevaliers Bienfaisants" (p. 368). This blunder about the Lodges mentioned has already been exposed. Jean Jacques Duval D'Esprémenil, born at Pondicherry in 1746, was the son of an Administrator of the French East Indies, and his mother was a daughter of the famous Dupleix. It was not for flaire as a political or social democrat that he had won an immense popularity before the Revolution, but for his truculent resistance to the attempt of the Crown to coerce the Parliaments. As Cagliostro's champion in the Diamond Necklace case, he had done much to bring Queen Marie Antoinette's reputation into discredit. Yet during the Revolution he was one of the stoutest advocates of the Ancien Régime in Church and State. Robison also makes a Warden in "the Lodge *Compacte Social*", Lequinio "author of the most profligate book that ever disgraced the press". Barruel says that he saw a list of members of *Contrat Social*, and we may rest assured that had he discovered the name of so notoriously an evil person as Lequinio in that list he would not have written that he could discover no enemy to religion in that Lodge.

Of Deleutre, whom Robison has painted as a very sorry scoundrel, a good deal of genuine history is known. He either hailed from Avignon or was in some way closely connected with that place, for it was to him in 1775 the Avignon Lodge entrusted the task of getting its Clermont Constitution "revised" by the Grand Orient, and in 1791, after the terrible massacres at Avignon, Deleutre, claiming to be its deputy, appeared at the National Assembly, to demand justice. In 1789 he was one of those elected by Paris to elect deputies to that

¹ Morse Stephens is wrong in describing Maury as dying "in the dungeons of the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome". *Hist. Fr. Rev.*, p. 261. After the fall of Napoleon, expelled by the Bourbons, he went to Rome, and was imprisoned at St. Angelo: but, pardoned by the Pope, he died at a Lazarist convent in 1817. Napoleon pressed his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, to accept the Archbishopric of Paris without obtaining canonical institution. "Sire, *potius mori*", acclaimed the Cardinal. "Aha!" retorted Napoleon, "*Potius mori!* well, well! Maury shall be Archbishop of Paris". Maury at the time was Archbishop of Montefiascone.

² 'L'Abbé Fauchet, un des plus ardents républicains en apparence, étoit au fond de son âme un chaud royaliste. "J'ai de lui trois lettres originales où il professer le plus pur royalisme". *Op. cit.*, T. III., p. 203. But, on the contrary, see Aulard: *Hist. Politique de la Rév. Fran.*, p. 222. The name of Montjoye appears to have been assumed by Ventre de la Touloubre, who (born at Aix in 1746) was the son of Louis Ventre de la Touloubre, who, under the name of Arteuil published the *Histoire Heroique de Noblesse de Provence*. Chassin: *Les Elections et les Cahiers de Paris en 1789*, p. 508. Montjoye probably derived the statement that the Baron Menou had a seal engraved "Enemiers du culte et des rois" from the Abbé Le Franc's *Voile Levée*, p. 167. In the List of persons invited to attend at Philaethes' Convent appear "Latouloubre, à Aix en Provence". Robison writes (p. 494): "While the sheet commencing p. 465 was printing off, I got a sight of a work published in Paris last year, entitled *La Conjuration d'Orleans*".

body. You will remember that these electors continued to meet after they had discharged the functions for which they had been elected, and it was they who were the cradle of the Commune of Paris.¹ On the eve of the momentous day of the taking of the Bastille, the electors assembled at the Hôtel de Ville,² and Deleutre with two others was sent to call on Flesselles, the Prévôt des Marchands, to attend. On that day it was resolved to form a body of armed citizens, *Milice parisienne*, and the electors nominated twenty-two of their number to form a Permanent Committee, Deleutre being one of them. Later on others were co-opted, and among them was the Abbé Antonio René Bartolio, a member of Lodge *Contrat Social*. The meeting on these two July days was of a tumultuous character, the mob thrusting itself into the Hôtel de Ville, and wildly excited persons rushing in with alarms of troops closing in on Paris, the guns of the Bastille in threatening position, and brigands having it all their own way in the streets. There was a very real danger of arms and ammunition falling into the hands of the mob, and it will perhaps appear to most of us that the electors were justified in taking steps to deal with so dangerous a situation. Already the incident at Réveillon's house in the previous April had brought the danger of anarchy into clear view. I must not attempt to sketch the incidents of July 14th, but only follow the footsteps of Deleutre.³ I find that he was entrusted with commissions which must have required much bravery and coolness of head to execute. He was sent, with a small armed body, to divert the mob from the Hôtel des Invalides. On the 25th of July he went on a similar errand to protect

¹ Among them were:—

Moreau de Saint-Méry (Merie Louis Elie Moreau). Born at St. Martinique, Jan. 13, 1750. Avocat of Parlement de Paris, he went to Saint Domingo. Said to have discovered the lost tomb of Christopher Columbus. Returned to France in 1784. Maltreated as an aristocrat by the mob, after Aug. 10, 1792, he emigrated. Administered the State of Parma 1802-1806. Vénérable of *Neuf Sœurs* 1810. Pensioned by Louis XVIII. Died Jan. 28, 1819.

Tassin, Louis Daniel, Banker. Born 1742. He and his brother, Gabriel Tassin de l'Etang, were both high officers of the Grand Orient and founders of Lodge *Amis Ré-unis*. The latter commanded the notably loyalist battalion of the Filles de Saint Thomas in the National Guard. The brothers, charged with supporting the King on the day of the attack on the Tuileries, were guillotined, May 3rd, 1794.

Bancal des Issarts (Jean Henri). Both he and Couthon were according to M. Bord (*Op. cit.*, p. 421) members of Lodge *Saint Maurice* at Clermont-Ferrand. He voted for the detention of the King and banishment after the peace, and the expulsion of Marat from the Convention. He was one of the four Commissioners delivered by Dumouriez to the Austrians.

The Marquis de la Salle (Adrien Nicolas), succeeded Franklin as Vén. of the Lodge *Neuf Sœurs*. A distinguished soldier, playwright, and man of science. Second in Command of the National Guard, July, 1789.

² On June 25th, the Electors had met at "l'Hôtel dit du Musée" under the presidency of Laville. The Prévôt des Marchands originally had refused to allow the Electors to assemble at the Hôtel de la Ville. Deleutre offered to place at their disposal a hall 2010 in the rue Coq-Héron, capable of accommodating 500 persons. See *Récit de ce qui s'est passé à l'Assemblée des Electeurs de la Ville de Paris le 25 Juin, 1789, dans une salle de l'Hôtel dit du Musée, Rue Dauphine*. [Brit. Museum, F. 292, 21.] The Musée, a sort of French precursor of the former Polytechnic in Regent Street, had been founded in 1780 by members of the Lodge *Neuf Sœurs*.

³ Barruel charges Duveyrier with having in the interests of Lafayette falsified the *procès-verbal* of the Electors. Although it is true that the drafting of the *procès-verbal* was delayed, yet M. Jules Flammarion (*La Journée de 14 Juillet*) has shown that it was drawn up in free consultation with eye-witnesses. The Abbé (iv., p. 397) is interested in showing that "the National Guard was not formed till two days after the taking of the Bastille", and he suggests that its origin was due to Savalette's appearing with seven or eight brigands dressed like himself in uniform, and making an absurd speech. Lafayette, he would have us believe, "objected to so mean an origin for his Guard, and accordingly Duveyrier manipulated the records". If, however, one would prefer to say that the National Guard was not formed till Savalette and his brigands butted up on the 16th, one would find it difficult to account for the King's recognition of Lafayette as its Commander on the 17th.

the nuns of the Abbaye de Montmartre.¹ On July 17th he had conducted to the Hôtel de Ville the twelve deputies of the National who came to announce the King's intended visit to Paris. It is only fair to Robison to state that Reichardt in describing Deleutre's appearance as Deputy from Avignon to the Legislative Assembly says that it was murmured that Deleutre had formerly been a "mouche de police": but even so it was included in the murmur that he was an "agent de la cour", and in the pay of the defeated party.² The attempt that was made by the future montagnards to prevent him speaking would tend to show that Deleutre's interests were very different from those attributed to him by Robison.

The Abbé Barruel, when better informed as to the brethren of Lodge *Contrat Social*, has nothing in his last volume to urge against Deleutre, or for that matter against the Abbé Bartolio, who preached at Notre-Dame on the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. He was aware that the Lodge had caused Bonneville's *Les Jesuites chassés de la Franc-Maçonnerie* to be consigned in Open Lodge to the flames. The blunder the Abbé made in respect to Lodge *Contrat Social* shows that, although he claims to have been made a Mason, he knew but little about the Lodges in Paris. He is uncertain about the way in which Bartolio spelt his name. When Robison sent the third edition of his book to the Press he had not seen Barruel's fourth volume, in which the fiction concerning Lodge *Contrat Social* was exposed. Judging by his book, I would say that he was not the sort of person who would be ready to own up to a mistake.

As we have seen, Lodge *Contrat Social*, after the return of Louis XVI. from his attempted flight, appealed to its daughter Lodges to rally to the support of a Constitutional Monarch. On July 31st the Abbé Bartolio, in view of troubles to come, urged the Lodge and its daughter Lodges to go into abeyance. When it was that the magnificent building in the Rue Coq-Héron was pillaged by the mob, and, at grave personal risk, some of its archives were rescued by two of its members, is unknown to us now. Bartolio packed off to an appointment at St. Domingo.

After making the admission that neither the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, nor Fauchet, nor Bailly, nor Lafayette belonged to Lodge *Contrat Social*, the Abbé observes that the Lodge so far from being under the rule of the Duc d'Orleans had always been "dependent on Edinburgh". Lodge *Contrat Social* had indeed had on Dec. 13th, 1788, bestowed its particular degrees on Francis Elcho, Grand Master of Scotland,³ but we may confidently say that the French Lodge was never under any Edinburgh Grand Lodge.

V.—THE LODGE IN THE RUE DE LA SOURDIÈRE— LOGE DES AMIS RÉUNIS.

A Lodge bearing that name was constituted at Paris on April 23, 1771, that is to say, during the time when the Grand Lodge of which the Comte de Clermont Grand Master was still alive, was in abeyance, and certain officials were issuing constitutions for new Lodges. I cannot do better than quote from our Bro. Tuckett the following description:—"There is nothing to show that at the outset it was intended that the Lodge should in any way differ from other Lodges, but it so happened that its members, all of high social position and intellectual attainment, included a large proportion of zealous and earnest Masonic students, and thus it came about that in a very short time the **A—R** began to take to itself

¹ Chassin: *Les Elections et les Cahiers de Paris* 1789, T., III., p. 647.

² Laquiente: *Un Prussien en France en 1792*, p. 352. For the debate, see *Le Moniteur*, T., XIII. (Re-impression).

³ Daruty, *Op. cit.*, p. 257. David Douglas, Lord Elcho, the eldest son of James, 5th Earl of Wemyss, was "out in the '45, and attainted". The Lord Francis Elcho mentioned above was the son of the second brother of the attainted Jacobite.

something of the nature of a Lodge of Research, though not in the sense in which we employ that expression now. The object of their research was the Good of Mankind, Mental, Moral and Corporeal, and the 'Reintegration' of Man in his Primitive State of Purity and Perfection. To a Council of Members was delegated the task of deciding how best to set about the attainment of this object, and the labours of this Council, which apparently commenced in 1773, culminated in the presentation of a Report in 1775 . . . The simple Lodge *des Amis-Réunis* developed into a well defined 'Regime' of 12 'Classes', each with a distinctive name and secrets peculiar to itself, the whole Regime assuming the title—*les Philalètes ou Chercheurs de la Vérité*. The members, however, frequently used the old name *Amis-Réunis* . . . The 'Classes' were never called 'Degrees' . . .¹

Robison was led by the name "Re-united Friends" to concoct the myth (p. 42) that "the Lodge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Lyons" was the "mother Lodge" of numerous Lodges des Amis Ré-unis, of which the famous Parisian Lodge was but one. On p. 400 he writes of the German deputies: "They were received with open arms by *Philalèthes*, the *Amis de la Vérité*, the *Social Contract*, etc., and in the course of a very few weeks in the end of 1788 and the beginning of 1789 (that is to say before the end of March), the whole of the Grand Orient including the *Philalèthes*, *Amis Re-unis*, *Martinistes*, etc., had the secrets of the *Illuminati* communicated to them". He ends his paragraph by asking whether the rivalries of these sects may not "help to explain the mutual hatred of the Parisians and the Lyonnois, which produced the most dreadful atrocities ever perpetrated on the face of the earth, and made a shambles and a desert of the finest city of France?" . . .²

We will now revert to the Abbé Barruel. I think that it may have been the case that while he was at Paris, during the mob-law the circumstances in which as a Jesuit he found himself compelled him to lead a more or less concealed existence. This would account for the fact that he makes mistakes about well-known people and places. In the following account of Savalette's Lodge he seems to have been repeating something he had heard about the *Société Olympique*,³ another of Savalette's creations:—

¹ "Savalette de Langes, Les Philalètes, and the Convent of Wilhelmsbad" (*A.Q.C.*, xxx., p. 133). Since Bro. Tuckett wrote this admirable paper, M. Gustave Bord in his *Franc Maçonnerie en France* has given a list of members of *Amis Réunis* in 1774, which shows the names of Founders. It must in fairness to Barruel and Robison be admitted that Bro. J. G. Findel muddles up *Philalèthes* and *Martinistes* quite as mistakenly as they do. See Findel: *Hist. of Freemasonry*, Eng. Trans., 2nd Edn., p. 234-5. On p. 225: "At Paris the Lodge (*A.R.*, i.e., *Amis Réunis*) had practised since 1773 the ritual of the *Philalèthes* or seekers after truth, to whose secret Chapters no officer of the Grand Orient was admitted". If the latter statement were true the Barruel-Robison assertion of a conjuration would receive another fatal blow, but the truth is that Savalette and the two Tassins were very high officers of the Grand Orient. Findel's judgment is warped by an anti-higher-degree complex.

² M. Gustave Bord (*Op. cit.*, p. 361) refers to M. C. M. Simpson's *Reminiscences of a Regicide from the Original MSS. of Sergent Marceaux*, for some names of members of *Amis Réunis*. "Bailly, Barnave, Beauharnais, Canne [Carra], Duport [de N.], Grégoire, La Fayette, les Lameth, La Rochefoucauld, La Chapelier, Le Peletier, Mirabeau, Montmorency, Noailles, Petion, Talleyrand, Flouret [Thouret]". M. Bord says: "Je les cite donc pour mémoire". His memory has drawn a blank. There is no list or mention of *Amis Réunis* in the volume he cites. Sergent refers to Bonneville as "a printer and a sort of freemason, a fanatic who thought himself to be one of the *Illuminati*".

³ In October, 1787, Thiroux de Crosne, the Lieut.-General of Police, notified to the Committees of those Clubs and Salons, which were expecting that the return of Parliament from exile would lead to a re-opening, that it was the King's wish that the assemblies should remain in abeyance. The *Mémoires Secrètes* (T., xxxvi., p. 51) record on Dec. 8th, 1787: "La Société Olympique vient d'être aussi, comme ne s'occupant que de maçonnerie". [After the capture of the Bastille, Thiroux fled to England. He returned to Paris, was arrested in September, 1793, and condemned to death May 5th, 1794. His brother Thiroux de Gervillier, according to M. Bord (*Op. cit.*, p. 342), married one of Savalette's sisters.]

“ Under this Grand Orient there was at Paris a Lodge more specially charged with the foreign correspondence—the Lodge called the *des Amis Réunis*. In it the famous revolutionist Savalette de Langes personally distinguished himself. This adept, entrusted with the keeping of the Royal Treasury, that is to say honoured with all the confidence the most faithful subject could deserve, was at the same time a man of all the mysteries, of all the lodges, and of all the conspiracies. In order to unite all, he had made of his Lodge a medley of all sophistic systems, Martinist and Masonic. Yet, to impose better on the public, he had also in some sort made it a lodge of pleasure and of the luxury of the Aristocracy. Melodious music, concerts and balls appealed to the brethren of high rank: they came there in pompous equipages. The premises were provided with guards so that the multitude of carriages need cause no disorder. It was in some way under the auspices of the King himself that these fêtes were celebrated. The Lodge was brilliant, the Croesus of Masonry supplied the expense of the Orchestra and all the pleasures which they believed to be sole object of their meeting: yet while the brothers with their female adepts, either danced or sang in the common hall the delights of their *égalité* and their *liberté*, they little knew that beneath them was a secret committee, where all was in preparation to extend that *égalité* beyond the Lodge, over ranks and fortunes, over châteaux and cottages, over marquises and the bourgeois.

“ There was in reality above the common lodge what was another Lodge, called the Secret Committee of Amis Réunis, and of which the two great adepts were two men equally famous, either at Lyons or at Paris, one the great Willermoz, and the other Chappe de la Henrière. So long as the fête lasted, two Frères Terribles, armed with sword, the one at the bottom of the stair-way, the other at the door, watched entrance to this new sanctuary. There were the archives of the secret correspondence: there was the place to which all the packets of the Brethren of Germany or Italy were addressed: no permission to cross the threshold of the door. He would not know the cypher of the correspondence: he was simply charged to remit the letter. Savalette de Lange came to receive them, and the secret remained with the Committee. The reader will easily understand the nature of the correspondence and the counsels of which it was the object, when I would say that to be admitted to these councils, it did not suffice to have been initiated in all the ancient grades. That which would be necessary also would be what the brethren called *Maître de tous les grades philosophiques*, that is to say, to have sworn to Chevalier du Soleil hatred to all Christianity, and with the Chevalier Kadosh hatred to every cult and every King”. (iv., pp. 342-4.)

The farther astray Barruel is as to facts, the more passionate become his denunciations. He prefaces (iv., p. 354) an account of Lodge *Amis Réunis* by drawing on Luchet's disgusting and absurd fictitious description of initiation into the German higher grades, and continues: “ Thus were modelled the adepts of that atrocious sect, born of the deliria of Swedenborg¹ and transported successively from England, Avignon, and Lyons to Paris. In 1781 there was found at the last town, in the Rue de la Sourdière, a Club entirely composed of that kind of Illuminés, to the number of 125 to 130. Their Chief was

¹ The reference to Avignon here shows that the Abbé is still superseded by his error about Lodge *Contrat Social*.

again that Savalette de Lange, whom we have seen so occupied with the correspondence at the Committee of the Amis Réunis". The Abbé here makes the impossible assertion that the Comte Saint Germain made his rendezvous in "this Lodge" (Mark the easy way in which in Barruel and Robison's parlance "clubs" become "lodges".) He then goes on to say that "A special deputation summoned Cagliostro to attend". This shows that the writer had in mind the first of the two Congresses of Philalèthes which met between February 15th and May 26th, 1785. We have a list of the persons who were invited to attend the Congresses,¹ and the list, while it does include the names of some foreigners who had been associated with Weishaupt, shows that Barruel's characterisation of the united body is a vile libel. The agenda of the Congresses has been preserved, and it reveals not a single item of a political nature. Barruel goes on to say that up to this time Cagliostro's "mysteries had only been those of a charlatan". After the work done by Charcot and his successors, we to-day, whatever our opinion may be of Cagliostro, cannot dismiss the subject of mesmerism so easily as the Abbé did: but in this paper I am confining my attention to facts. Barruel continues: "It is from this point [his mysteries] become those of an utter conspirator. It is in this Lodge that he got to learn of the revolution with which with his assurance and all his tricky prophecies he menaced France, when, having got out of the Bastille, he re-appeared in London". The fact is that Cagliostro could have learned nothing at all from the Philalèthes, for he declined to attend their conferences, and poured derision on them. It must have required a superb indifference to evidence to enable Barruel subsequently to bring in Mirabeau, who had written a diatribe against Cagliostro and Lavater, as Warden of the Philalèthes.

Curiously enough, Barruel, in asserting that Cagliostro received his commission as a revolutionary apostle from Lodge *Amis Réunis*, comes into unconscious antagonism with the evidence relied on by the Inquisition at Rome to prove that Cagliostro was commissioned at Frankfort by "the Grand Masters of the Illuminati" to dethrone kings and overthrow altars. The Roman Inquisitor was quite as fertile in torturing evidence as was the Abbé. For instance, he declared that the letters L.D.P. engraved on Cagliostro's cross stood for "lilia pedibus destrue", i.e., "Stamp out the Bourbons". M. Gustave Bord interprets the letters in the same way, although he goes back so far as 1772 to find them on the warrant of a famous French military Lodge. What the letters do signify is *Liberté de passage*, and they refer to the legend of the Chevalier d'Orient degree.

The Abbé assures his readers that "the famous Comte de St. Germain had also his rendezvous in this Lodge (iv., p. 356): but that mysterious person left France finally some ten years before the Lodge came into existence."²

¹ Thory: *Act. Lat.*, ii. Others too were summoned, for instance, an invitation was sent to Joseph de Maistre. Dermenghem: *Joseph de Maistre Mystique*, p. 78. The Congress, besides going into such questions as the ideal form of Masonic organisation, the origin of the Order, the meaning of 'Lodge', 'Temple', 'Venerable écossais', 'Master in the Chair', 'Open' and 'Close labour', were to discuss matters of hermetic science and "the perfect knowledge which must be reserved to a small number of privileged men who by their labours and more especially their virtues have merited the particular favours of the Grand Master of the Order, the Great Architect of the Universe".

² Barruel (iv., p. 352) mentions the grossly immoral practices of the "Loge d'Humenville". "Toute femme admise aux mystères devenoit commune aux Frères. Celle qu'avoit choisie St. Germain, étoit appelée Vierge. Elle avoit seule le privilège de n'être pas livrée au hasard, ou au choix de ces vrais Adamites, si ce n'est quand il plaisait à St. Germain de se nommer une autre Vierge". Jean Jacques Rousseau had established himself at the Marquis de Girardin's château at Ermenonville, where he died in July, 1778. Barruel says that the persons whom he gratuitously calls a "Lodge" assembled "auprès du tombeau de Jean-Jacques". But St. Germain had left France before Rousseau's death. The strictly moral Mounier writes that he had acquaintances who had known St. Germain, and they had assured him that St. Germain

"The Secretary of this Lodge, Dietrich, combined in his person every kind of Illuminism. There was with him Condorcet, who only needed to know more of the plots of Weishaupt to embrace them all, if indeed it is true that Dietrich was not already the confrère of Weishaupt himself" (iv., p. 357). On p. 440 he refers again to Savalette's Lodge which had received the Illuminé Envoys and Dietrich, who was the first to bring the mysteries to France". And here the Abbé has an illustrative anecdote to tell:—

"At the time when the brigands first began to set themselves in revolutionary activity, when the châteaux were on fire in the provinces, when on one part and on another the heads of the nobility fell, M. l'Abbé Royou,¹ already well known for his zeal against the sophists, found himself reduced to quitting Paris in order to escape from the bandits of the Palais Royal. He for some time wandered about from village to village until he secretly returned to Paris, and arrived at my house about four o'clock in the morning. To the question I put to him as to how he had passed his time, during his flight, he replied: 'I lived nearly always at the houses of the curés, being well received by them, but not able to remain long with the same persons, for fear of exposing them to the same danger as mine. The last, to whose house I had retreated, made me suspicious, when there came a letter for him from Paris, which I saw him, with an air that added to my suspicions, open and read it. Almost sure that it turned on me, I seized the opportunity, when his duties had called him elsewhere, to enter his room, and I there found the letter. It was conceived in these terms: 'Your letter, my dear Friend, has been read in the presence of all the Club. It was surprising to find so much philosophy in a Curé of a village. Be easy, my dear Curé: we are three hundred: we point out the heads, and they tumble. As to that of him you mention, there is still not time. Only keep your neighbourhood ready: dispose your parishioners to exercise the orders: they will be given to you at the time?'"

"This letter," the Abbé added, "was signed 'Dietrich Secrétaire'. To the reflections it suggests, I will only add that the Club of which it speaks had changed its place of meeting to the Faubourg St. Honoré²; and that there it remained, unknown to the Court, until the moment of one of those orgies, the purpose of which was again to make the King understand the lot that awaited him. At the close of one of those repasts celebrated in the name of the fraternity, all the Brethren pricked their arms and dropped their blood in their glass: all drank the blood after crying, 'To the death of Kings': and this was the last toast of the fraternal repast. It tells us clearly what men had formed this legion of the Douze Cents the establishment of which Jean de Brie had proposed at the Convention, and of which the object was to spread itself through the empires in order to assassinate all the kings of the earth".

had set no example in libertinage. The Abbé has been speaking about a "liste noire" and a "liste de sang", and he speaks of a Chevalier de Lescure whose death by poison mixed in a drink, the Chevalier himself in dying attributed to the "infamous horde of Illuminés" at Ermenonville. M. Bord (*Op. cit.*, 324) sets the orgies at Ermenonville in 1785, that is to say, a year after Saint-Germain's death.

¹ Possibly the Abbé Thomas Maurice Royou. Died in hiding June, 1792. A member of the Club Monarchique. Challamel: *Les Clubs Révolutionnaires*, p. 153. Editor of *L'Ami du Roi*, and a collaborator in *L'Année Littéraire*. He had been a professor at the College of St. Louis-le-Grand. References to him will be found in Bachaumont's *Mémoires Secrètes*.

² A list of members of the Club de Valois (Challamel: *Les Clubs Contre-Révolutionnaires*, p. 60) shows "Savalette de Lange (M. de), rue Saint-Honoré, 329, Garde de Trésor royal. Membre de l'Assemblée des trois ordres, à Paris. Capitaine au bataillon de Saint-Roch". A list of the Société de 1789 (*Ibid*, p. 401) shows Barère as living "rue des Filles-Saint-Thomas".

The person whom Barruel represents as the Secretary of this sanguinary lodge or club in the Rue de St. Honoré is the noted mineralogist, the Baron Frédéric de Dietrich, born at Strasbourg, but resident for some years in Paris, "Secrétaire-general des Suisses et des Grisons, Membre de l'Académie des Sciences"¹ and a Magistrate. On June 28th, 1789, that is to say, long before the nobles literally lost their heads, Dietrich was appointed "Commissaire du Roi pour faire fonction de prêteur royal" at his native city, and there he remained engaged in the hopeless task of attempting to establish law and order, until at last he was denounced at the Jacobin Club, and brought to Paris as a prisoner, ultimately to perish on the scaffold. He was no doubt a man of advanced liberal views, and that circumstance would have fitted him for the work entrusted to him of mediating between the patriarchal members of Strasbourg and the men of the new ideas. He is said to have popularised the hymn of the Marsellaise: but the *Dictionnaire de la Révolution Française* also says that Dietrich protested in an address to the Assembly against the doings of the day June 20th, when the mob invaded the Tuileries and the suspension of the King on August 11th, 1792.

Dietrich's difficulties arose chiefly in connection with the troubles created by the civil constitution of the clergy. The Archbishop-Prince, Cardinal Louis René Edouard de Rohan (of the "Queen's necklace" fame), had removed himself across the river, and his place was taken by a constitutional bishop (Brendel). The latter appointed as his two episcopal vicars that unspeakable Savoyard, Philibert Simon, and Euloge Schneider of Bonn. There was also a teacher of languages from Berlin who founded at this time the first Strasbourg journal in the French tongue. This was Charles-Thiébaud Leveaux, a defrocked Capuchin. It was these three persons who led to Dietrich's downfall. They were the founders of a daughter Société des Jacobins, and, when Dietrich, who had become the first Mayor of Strasbourg, placed the Journalist under arrest, Simon journeyed to Paris to denounce before his Mother Society at the Rue St. Honoré the Mayor as an enemy to the Revolution. The proceedings of the Jacobins at Paris, Dec. 19, 1792, show Leveaux denouncing the Minister Roland as a protector of Feuillants, and for "placing so to speak a praetorian guard" to protect Dietrich in his prison. On Nov. 29, 1793, Robespierre himself assures the Jacobins that Dietrich is to die, but not at Strasbourg, where the number of his friends might lead to a disturbance. Acquitted after a splendid defence, Dietrich had been detained as an *émigré* in the dungeons of the Abbaye: on Dec. 29 he was condemned to death as an enemy of the Fatherland.

Had the Abbé been as well informed as he professed to be he would scarcely have characterised Dietrich as "the émule de Robespierre" (vol. iv., p. 335).

VI.—THE STRICT OBSERVANCE AND THE MARTINISTS.

It is the purpose of these writers to represent the ILLUMINÉS of Lyons and Strasbourg as little behind the ILLUMINATI of Bavaria in irreligious and anti-social opinions. Barruel² endeavours to represent Saint Martin as a propagator of the

¹ Reuss: *Histoire de Strasbourg*, p. 347.

² De Maistre's *Notes sur l'Ouvrage de l'Abbé Barruel* unfortunately has not been published, but extracts from the work have been published by M. Emile Dermenghem, who has also published Willermoz's records of the mesmeric-faith healing operations (*Les Sommeils*) carried out at Lyons under the direction of the Dean, Jean Antoine de Castellás, a member of the Strict Observance and Grand Profès. Nothing can better reveal the fundamentally Christian character of the Order in France than does *Les Sommeils*. Masonry was represented among the Canons, who were Comtes de Lyon, by the Chancellor Henry de Cordon, Louis Augustus Barbier de Lescot and Marie Agate de Bernard Rully, who in 1791 co-operated with Jacques Imbert-Colomés in preparations for a rising on behalf of the Bourbons. De Castellás attended the States General in 1788. He was accidentally killed in Dover Harbour in 1801, when returning after eleven years of exile.

gnostic error that the sins of the flesh inflict no stain on the soul, whereas it is Saint Martin's express doctrine, that since a movement of the soul precedes the sin in the flesh, he who commits adultery commits "not a single but a double crime" (see St. Matthew v., 28). De Maistre, that ardent champion of Ultramontane Catholicism, was therefore not using too strong language when he said of the charge of Manichæism brought against Saint Martin (whom he knew and admired) "ceases to be a calumny because it is ridiculous", and again (as to Barruel's assertion "the Martinist Mason has done nothing else but copy Manes and the Albigeois"): "Never has a man of talent written anything so foolish". Robison, however, not being aware that Saint Martin's doctrine is founded on the Incarnation, committed an error quite as stupid, when he assured his readers that Saint Martin's *Des Erreurs et de la Vérité* "bears a great resemblance to a performance of Toland's, published in 1720, called *Pantheisticon, seu Celebratio Sodalitatis Socraticæ*", a statement he follows up by a remark betraying his ignorance of the origin of the Strict Observance.

I have said that I am not interested to deny that many Freemasons shared in the optimistic liberal idealisms of 1789. Jacques Millanois, was a member of the Constituent Assembly. Of him Mounier writes that in 1789 he held "opinions exaggerated in some regards although very different from those who sought to break all bonds of civil order. He was neither a conspirator, ambitious, nor capable of harming those who did not share his sentiments". He fell a victim to the Terror at Lyons, on December 5th, 1793. His brother, who had served as a Colonel of Artillery against the Conventional troops, was shot as a prisoner after the siege. Pierre Marie Bruyset and his brother, Jean Marie, were taken prisoners. He appeared before the Revolutionary Commissioners, and, accused of having issued *billets obsidionaux*, which in fact not he, but his brother had done. He offered no defence, and was executed, thus saving his brother's life. Jean Andre Perisse du Luc, who had been a member of the Assembly and of the Committee which framed the Constitution, had, like Millanois, been a member of the Club des Feuillants at Paris, and, like Millanois, he suffered death in arms against the Convention. The aged Chevalier Gaspard de Savaron, served against the sansculottes as a Colonel of Artillery. And with all these brave men, from the Directory at Grenoble there was Comte Henry de Virieu,¹ Eques Henricus à Circulis, who fell in the retreat from Lyons.² He had represented his Province at the Congress at Wilhelmsbad, and, according to Barruel, had come back from that meeting with apprehensions of an approaching catastrophe which he communicated to the Comte de Gilliers. Barruel states that what Virieu "had acquired by his deputation inspired him with so much horror for its mysteries that he renounced them so absolutely that he became a very religious man. It is to this we owe the zeal he subsequently displayed against the Jacobins". Here again we have another offence against the truth. Virieu was always a fervent Catholic, and it was in the year 1782 his acquaintance with Saint Martin became a warm friendship. Mounier, who contradicts energetically the statement that he himself was a Mason, and who was not a Martinist, pays tribute to the moral probity of Lyons Masons, and mentions the sound moral effect

¹ He was related to Joseph Anne Maxmillian de Croy, Duc de Havre, the brother of the Duchess de Tourzel, the governess of the Dauphin. She accompanied the Royal family in their attempted flight. The Duc was Prov. G. Master of the Lyons' G.O. Directory. He subsequently represented the Bourbon princes at the Court of Spain. For Virieu, see the Marquis de Beauregard's beautiful *Roman d'un Royalist pendant la Révolution*, and the Marquis de Castellane's *Gentilhommes Démocrates*. See Breget de Lut and Preicaud: *Biographie Lyonnaise*, and Balleydier: *Histoire politique et militaire du Peuple de Lyon*.

² Papis: *Saint Martin*, pp. 159, 193, 202. For Saint Martin, see Bro. Lafontaine's paper on "The Unknown Philosopher" in *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., and my own Notes in *A.Q.C.*, xix.

which Martinism exercised on its disciples, and the services rendered by the Martinists in stemming public violence. The witness of Mounier against Robison and Barruel is of the greatest weight, for no one was more authorised than he was to speak of the men of the earlier stages of the Revolution. Much the same can be said of the members of the Observance at Strasbourg as I have said of their Lyons brethren.¹ Barruel and Robison have depicted these men in the same colours as their executioners and persecutors.

To have mixed up the Illuminés of Lyons with the Illuminati of Germany was bad enough, but the futility of this campaign of mendacity will become even clearer when it is borne in mind that not even the inner circle of the German Illuminati had conceived such a scheme of political revolution that their plans could be imported wholesale into France by secret emissaries. In the *Cahier Prépartoire* of the Illuminati Order we read: "All the sciences and institutions of the world are in need of being reformed, but a reform so profound cannot be made publicly or be enterprised rapidly: it must not be a reform which destroys more than it builds: it must be universal, embrace everything, occupy itself not with theoretical speculations, but with practical and efficacious measures in order to restore men to the level of their primitive dignity". In the official documents of the Order "priests, princes and the actual political regime are spoken of as great obstacles in the way of human betterment", but it is asked, "What then ought we to do? To favour resolutions, to upset everything, to oppose violence by violence, to exchange tyrants for other tyrants? Far be such a thought from us! Every violent reform is condemnable in that there can be no amelioration so long as men remain with their passion what they actually are".² It is the case that the war of the American Independence had stimulated in literary men and academic circles an enthusiasm for "liberty" and republican ideals, but it was not until Napoleon had placed his iron heel on German soil that the spirit of nationalism, so potent in France, was borne beyond the Rhine. For Lessing, Schiller, Goethe and Wieland the patriotism they can admire in Greeks and Romans or in countries possessed of long established constitutional government, is an ideal not to be sought for or desired in their own land. The practical programme of the Illuminati was not to displace the ruling princes, but to fill the executive offices with men of their own type, and thereby secure practical rather than theoretical ends.

VII.—THE ATTEMPT TO LINK UP THE FRENCH LODGES WITH THE ILLUMINATI OF BAVARIA.

Robison, who was before the Abbé in the field to attempt this strategy, appears at first to have been in some doubt as to how the plan could be executed. On p. 358, after having brought his exposition of the doctrines of the German Illuminati to a close, he remarks "that the Illuminati and other Cosmopolitan Societies had some influence in bringing about the French Revolution, or at least in accelerating it, can hardly be doubted". "Some influence" is a mild

¹ See my art. on Freemasonry in Savoy, *A.Q.C.*, xlv., for the Baron Jean von Turkheim, whose religious opinions, but for his theosophical tendencies, resemble those of an Anglo-Catholic. He was one of the deputies from Alsace at the National Assembly, but, disgusted by mob intrusions, resigned. Frederick Rudolph Salzaman (not to be mistaken for his cousin, Goethe's law tutor, Jean David Salzaman) lectured on the true spirit of the new Constitution to thousands in the hall of the Bishop's Palace. M. Matter describes him as a religious mystic of the school of Fénelon and Madame Guyon. The Jacobin Commissioners drove him into exile, and imprisoned his wife and daughters. See Reichard's account in Laquinte's *Un Prussien en France* in 1792: Matter: *Saint-Martin: le Philosophe Inconnu*, p. 158. [I have not the space to deal with Barruel's comments on Swedenbourg. He suggests that the visions were the outcome of an illness. In reply, Mr. J. Clowes, in *Remarks on the Assertions of the Author of Jacobinism* (1850), objected that the visions preceded the illness.]

² Forestier, *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

substitute for "a conjuration" on his title-page. He adds: "In reading the secret correspondence I was always surprised at not finding any Reports from France, and something like a hesitation about establishing a mission there; nor am I yet able to account for it". The connection which both he and Barruel endeavour to establish is an alleged mission from the Illuminati of Bode and Busche which Robison believes to have taken place "in the end of 1788, while the Notables were sitting" (p. 396), but which Barruel assigns to 1787. The Deputies, Robison writes, "were received with open arms by the *Philalèthes*, the *Amis de la Vérité*, the *Social Contrat*, etc., and in the course of a very few weeks in the end of 1788 and the beginning of 1789 (that is before the end of March) the whole of the Grand Orient, including the *Philalèthes*, *Amis Réunis*, *Martinistes*, etc., had the secrets of Illumination communicated to them" (pp. 400-1).

According to Robison, in the year 1786 Mirabeau in conjunction with the Duc de Lauzun and the Abbé Talleyrand had "reformed a Lodge of Philalèthes in Paris, which met in the Jacobin Club" (p. 374), and "in 1788 he and the Abbé were the wardens of this Lodge". "A letter was therefore signed sent from this Lodge, signed by these two gentlemen, to the Brethren in Germany, requesting their assistance and instructions". The alleged result of this invitation was the coming of the Illuminati Bode and Busche. It cannot be said that Busche and Bode came to Paris as a deputation on behalf of the Illuminati, for in 1784 Weishaupt had parted company with Knigge, the master organiser of his system, and also in the year following the secrets of the Illuminati had been revealed to an indignant public, several of its leaders prosecuted, and its Chief had become a fugitive. Barruel's idea of a rapid promotion of French Masons to the most advanced degrees in his Order is absurd, for advance in the Illuminati Order was dependent on scrupulous selection, periods of probation, and a system of self-confessions—in a few words, a system which would never have endeared itself to French folk and especially so at such a time of political excitement.

Now what really did happen? Johan Joachim Christopher Bode [1730-1793], who, as *Eques à lilio convallium*, had been an energetic member of the Strict Obedience, at the time of the Congress of Wilhelmsbad, came under the influence of the Baron Adolf Franz Ludwig Knigge,¹ the man who was for a time the driving force of Weishaupt's Order of Illuminati, and Amelius in that Order. A year before this Knigge, under the pseudonym of Joseph Aloys Maier, professedly a former Jesuit, had sent out a pamphlet warning the princes of Germany to "be on their guard against the spirit and dagger of the Jesuits". In the Rose-Croix of Bavaria and in the Martinists of Lyons, Bode saw a Jesuit conspiracy just as Barruel saw in them the enemies of thrones and altars. Bode had been invited to both of the Philalèthes' Congresses. In 1787 we find him writing to say that while it was in his mind to go to Herrnhut, but in course of conversation with a rich old nobleman, Meine Herr von Busche, the topic of the Philalèthes Congress turned up. Bode had already sent to the Congress a paper on the Origin of Freemasonry, and so, when pressed to go to Paris, he pleaded that the cost of the journey would be too much for his purse to meet. Von Busche thereupon offered to accompany his friend and defray all the expenses there and back. Reichard in his *Autobiography* (p. 168) remarks that Von Busche, Bayard in the Illuminati Order, was the last person who would be employed in a mission designed to provoke a revolution. Having decided to go to Paris, Bode was delayed by his companion making a prolonged stay at Frankfort, and

¹ Knigge abandoned Weishaupt in July, 1784, undertaking, however, to abstain from revealing the secrets of this Order. In 1786 he published his *Beitrag zur neuesten Geschichte des Freimaurer Ordens*, in which he contends that the Jesuits penetrated the French military Lodges during the seven years' war and propagated the idea of Jacobite founders.

in fact the two did not arrive at Paris till after the Congress was over. This was the second of the Philalèthe Congresses. It lasted from the 8th of March until June 8th, 1787, and its sessions were held not in the Rue de la Sourdère but at Savalette's house in the Rue Saint Honoré. In bringing it to an abrupt termination, Savalette said:—

“MM.FF. The small amount of zeal of a very small number of those convoked, who more out of consideration of politeness and friendship than real interest came seldom to the meetings of the Convent, and remained only a little while, prove to my great regret that it is not only prudent but necessary to abandon it”.¹

On June the 24th, Bode writes: “My chief aim has been achieved. When I arrived here, my paper, which, when I was not expecting to come here, I had sent on in advance, had already been read twice and created a good impression, which is no small matter with fickle, impatient, French people. The research in Alchemy, Kaballa, theosophy, theurgy, and whatever high and occult science requires, came to an end”.² It cannot be doubted that Bode during his stay in Paris had many conversations with Freemasons, and that he indoctrinated some of them with his superstitious fear of the Jesuits. So far from remaining in Paris to introduce his own modified form of the Illuminati Order, as Robison imagines, he was back again at Weimar in the following August, when we find him doing his best to persuade Schiller to become a Mason. “Bode”, writes the great poet, “has brought back from Paris a fund of information about Freemasonry”, but “he draws a sorry picture of Paris. He says that the nation has lost all its energy and is rapidly approaching its decay”. Körner writes back to Schiller: “Bode seems to have given you a very partial description of French affairs. He was too short a time in Paris to have heard more than one side of the question: and party spirit there is violent. His principal informant was doubtless Savalette de Langes, head of the Lodge to which Bode paid a visit. Ask him about this man”.³

Now, how can these somewhat melancholy references to the Philalèthes Congress be reconciled with the descriptions given by Barruel and Robison? If we are to believe those writers, the result of the magic orations delivered by Bode and Von Busche was that they forced the revolution throughout all France! In passing, we may note that Bode describes Von Busche as a wealthy man. Robison affirms that both he and Bode were “immersed in debts”! The Abbé describes Busche as an “hériter d'une grande fortune”. That Bode had at Paris another occupation beside warfare on Mesmerism, Martinism, and the Rose-Croix I do not doubt. Bonneville's *Les Jesuits Chassés de la Franc Maçonnerie*⁴ may serve to point the direction of that other occupation. Whether or no he supplied the materials for that scarcely sane book, Bode translated it and published it in Germany.

Robison devotes no less than forty pages to the subject of a Lutheran minister, Karl Frederick Bahrdt, whose scandalous life affords a full opportunity for the enemy to make the most of. I have not the space to recount

¹ Thory, *Acta Latomorum*.

² Engel: *Geschichte de Ill-f.*, pp. 410-15.

³ L. Simpson: *Correspondence of Schiller with Körner*, I., 142. For Christian Gottfried Körner, see *A.Q.C.*, xxx., 157. Mounier (*L'Influence attribuée aux Philosophes et aux Illuminés sur la Révolution de France*) claims to have seen Bode's paper.

⁴ That book is satirically dedicated to the Lodge *Réunion des Etrangers* of Paris, founded in 1784 by the Baron Walterstorff, Chamberlain of the King of Denmark, subsequently ambassador to Napoleon. His junior warden was the Abbé Olivier Julien Baron, Prior of La Croix de Corneille, and among the members were a Prior of Talizieux, two Grand Vicars, a Canon of Semur en Brionais, and two Abbés. Notices of these persons in Besuchet's list of eminent Masons. Edme Beguiliet, Notary at Dijon, and a Correspondent of the Académie des Inscriptions (died 1786).

the story of the German Union, and it must suffice to say that it was a movement set on foot by Bahrdt, under the auspices of Knigge, and its method was to make use of libraries and public uses for the purposes for which Knigge had sought to exploit Freemasons' Lodge. According to Robison, the first leakage of the secret took place when Goeschen, the Leipzig bookseller, published a book which he said had been sent to him by an unknown hand, and which as it revealed a danger to his trade in particular and to society in general he felt he was bound to make known. The name of the book was *Mehr noter als Text*, published at Leipzig in 1789. I do not think that now there can be any doubt that Bode was the author of this book,¹ but Barruel found himself interested to deny the fact.² Mounier says that Bahrdt had submitted his papers to a certain M. Bertuch at Weimar, and that the latter made them over for examination to Bode. The result of this was an exposure of a dangerous design.

It only remains to be pointed out that the information on which Barruel and Robison had relied came to them at a time when the world was beginning to ask who was to be held responsible for the excesses of the Revolution, the deaths of the King and Queen, and the bloodshed of the Terror. Bode having departed this life in 1793, it was easy for Starck or his friends to place on Bode's visit to Paris the interpretation we find in Barruel and Robison.³

VIII.—WAS MIRABEAU A FREEMASON?

Talleyrand, we know, at the time of the taking of the Bastille, paid a visit to the Court at Marly in order to offer his services to the King, who declined to see him. He conversed with the King's brother, the Comte de Provence, to whom he said that, as his services were not accepted, he would now have to pursue his own personal interests.

Mirabeau left England on Christmas day, 1785, and arrived at Berlin on January 19th, 1786, travelling on the pretext of a search for employment. He got back to Paris on May 22nd, and there, through Talleyrand's influence, secured a secret mission to Berlin, the main purpose of which was to see what could be done in behalf the French influences at the Prussian Court which were only likely to be supplanted by native ones after the death of Mirabeau's ideal, Frederick the Great. He left Paris on July 3rd, and was absent from

¹ Kloss.

² "It is with the same confidence that the same champion [Bottiger, in the *Monthly Magazine*, January, 1798] gives us this work as the production of Bode; just as if it would be likely that Bode would have been likely to unveil a conspiracy in which he himself had played so great a rôle, and would have exposed to public laughter that Baroness de Recke, Comtesse de Meden (that is to say, La Coureuse), whose claims were so indifferent to him and whose works so little familiar. If Bode had been the person who so well unmasked the German Union, why was the honour left to Goschen, publisher at Leipzig, who in it declares himself to be its author". The Abbé is writing this in defence of Robison, but he does not perceive that he is letting down his colleague very badly, for Robison (p. 288) says that "the publisher [Goschen] says that it was sent to him by an unknown hand". The assertion that Bode had played a great rôle in the German Union is merely a card which the Abbé would force into the hands of his readers. As I have never read *More Notes than Text*, I cannot say whether or no Bode mentions himself, and my courage fails me when the Abbé draws the Comtesse de Recke into this affair. The Comtesse was the adversary of Starck, to whom Barruel was under a deep literary obligation. For this see our Bro. Telepneff's Articles in *A.Q.C.*

³ See *Mémoires de mon Temps dictés par S. A. le Landgrave Charles, Prince de Hesse*. Copenhagen, 1861, pp. 137-8. It appears that at the Congress of Wilhelmsbad Dittfurth by his intemperate language shocked his colleagues. Forrestier, *Op. cit.*, p. 414. M. Vulliaud (*Joseph de Maistre: Franc-Maçon*, p. 170) quotes from Galiffe, *La Chaîne Symbolique* (Geneva, 1852), a document signed by Turckheim the Chancellor on the Congress, "C'est calomnier le Convent de Wilhelmsbad, est-il dit, que de prétendre que le bon ordre y fut quelquefois troublé. Il ne le fut qu'en une seule occasion, où tous les Frères s'unirent contre l'un des principaux fondateurs de l'Union Eclectique, Eques ab Orno [Franz de Dittfurth], au moment où il venait de prêcher les abominables doctrines des Illuminés".

France for the remainder of the year, but in January, 1787, he was again in Paris. It is well known that he at this time sold the bulk of his secret official correspondence to a bookseller who published it under the title *l'Histoire Secrète de la Cour de Berlin*. From that time to the outbreak of the Revolution he and Talleyrand were not on speaking-terms. In his *La Monarchie Prussienne sous Frédéric le Grand*, he raised the question whether, after the invention of the printing press, any good service can be done by Secret Societies, and the only form of Freemasonry for which he could say a favourable word is that of the Eclectic Union, but that under a reservation. Bode, whom Mirabeau in his diplomatic correspondence with Talleyrand had branded as a police spy, a cheat, but a useful rascal to wit, comes in for the highest praise in *La Monarchie Prussienne*, and so also does Bonneville. In one of Mirabeau's letters to Talleyrand, not included in the *Histoire Secrète*, appears the first version of Luchet's absurd account of an initiation in a "high degree", but the rite is not attributed to the Illuminati, for the persons under attack are the adherents of the Rose-Croix, who at that time were influencing the new King and putting into force measures designed to promote Lutheran orthodoxy.¹ These people, Bishofswerder and Woellner,² Mirabeau designated "the Visionaries", and he regarded them with as much hostility as he did Lavater and Cagliostro, the latter of whom, according to Barruel, was a favourite in Mirabeau's own Lodge! I know of no evidence, save the assertions of Anti-Masonic writers to prove that Talleyrand was a Mason.

The great Orator's adopted son, Lucas Montigny, has said that Mirabeau early in life was admitted to the Craft, and he has included in his *Mémoires Biographiques a Mémoire concernant une association intime à établir dans l'Ordre de F.-M., pour ramener à ses vrais principes, et le faire tendre véritablement au bien de l'humanité, rédigé par le F.-M.-I. nommé présentement Arcésilas en 1776*. The MS. was not in Mirabeau's handwriting, and sentences and phrases from it appear in *La Monarchie Prussienne*, a work to which Mauvillon contributed. The latter may have been "Arcésilas" in Weishaupt's Order, but in 1775 Weishaupt had not commenced his Order. Starck asserts that Mirabeau was "Léonidas" in the Order, but, as M. Forestier has pointed out,³ no document is quoted in confirmation of the statement. Certainly Mirabeau, during his stay at Berlin, cultivated the society of Nicolai, but it is questionable whether that person did more than read the rituals, and it is little likely that in 1787 he took any active interest in a society that had been so severely dealt with. M. Montigny in that year was not even in his teens. On the whole, it may be regarded as very doubtful that Mirabeau was a Freemason. To represent the author of the notes to the Court as a Jacobin is merely ridiculous.

CONCLUSION.

A number of other instances of Barruel's habit of romancing might be cited, but these times compel me to pass them by.⁴ We have seen that, after having earlier indulged his *cacoethes scribendi* in a work against encyclopaedists and philosophers, it occurred to him to write a work in which he would establish

¹ See Welschinger: *La Mission Secrète de Mirabeau à Berlin, 1786-87*. Barruel attributes Luchet's *Essay* to Mirabeau, but it was not till after Mirabeau's death that his name appeared on the title-page of a third edition.

² See Sorel: *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*. Tom. i.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 664, "En réalité Mirabeau était fort mal renseigné sur les Sociétés secrètes de l'époque".

⁴ For instance the attempt to connect the assassination of Gustave III with agents from Masonic lodges. The *Histoire de l'Assassinat de Gustave III pour un Officier Polinaire, témoin oculaire* is a work of bad faith, and probably comes from the source which supplied Barruel with his other legends. See Nisbet Bain: *Gustave III and his Contemporaries*, ii., p. 192.

the thesis that all the horrors attendant on the French Revolution were to be attributed to the vulgarisation of their works in Masonic Lodges. We have seen, on the other hand, that many of those whom Barruel regarded as authentic exponents of Freemasonry, in fact regarded the Freemasonry of English Lodges as a scheme to restore the Stuarts and Jesuits in disguise? We are reminded of the cross-eyed butler who, in coming into collision with the short-sighted maid, asked "Why don't you look where you are going?" To which the maid replied: "Why don't you go where you are looking?" However, it was after the Abbé had seen the Professor's book that the Abbé fell in love with the theory based on the visit of Bode and Busche to the Philalèthes. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc?* I cannot say, for it is possible that the manufacturer in Germany of the myths had on the appearance of Barruel's first volumes got into touch with the Author, as they had previously got into touch with Robison. On the German source Barruel would place an implicit confidence, for it was mothered by members or adherents of his own Society.

For Barruel, in the circumstances which drove him into exile it is impossible not to feel sympathy, and the make-up of the man, his congenital gullibility and excitability, his flair for impassioned denunciation, may to some extent serve as a plea for merciful judgment. Anti-Masonic propagandists at the present day are wont to shrug their shoulders at the mention of the name of one whose authority they will readily allow to have been discredited, and it is most likely that the foregoing criticism of the once famous *Mémoires* would be scoffed at by them as a work of supererogation. The fictions derived from the *Mémoires* attributed to other writers, however, are still served out as current coin, although the mint from which they are issued is disowned. The writer of this paper can only hope that, if it be the opinion of those who read it that to treat Barruel at all seriously is a waste of time, they will at least grant that the historical facts which come to light in the process of criticism are not unworthy of the attention of the student of Masonic history.

ADDENDUM.

Since the occasion when my paper was read, I have noticed in the Jesuit periodical *Études*, a review of Forrestier's work on the Illuminati of Bavaria in whom the writer, Père Didon, endeavours to underprop the myth of the intrigues with the Philalèthes, by substituting for Bode and Busche's visit to their Congress, a visit by the Comte Kalowiat in 1782 and Falgera in 1784. This is not quite a new attempt to replace a contention that will not survive criticism. for Gustave Bord has asserted that Kalowiat went to Paris "pour illuminier" Savalette and his Philalèthes. The Comte Kalowiat was a disciple whom Weishaupt and Knigge regarded with suspicion and intellectual contempt. The former had endeavoured "pour essayer de guérir de la théosophie": the latter spoke of him as a fou mystique. The Comte, moreover, was attracted to the very occult sciences which the Illuminati leaders held in abhorrence, and was a member both of the Illuminati (but not in the higher circles) and the Rosicrucians. Falgera was a mere novice in Weishaupt's Order. M. Bord in showing that Kalowiat made it his business to increase the estrangement between Savalette and Willermoz inflicts yet another blow on Barruel's attempt to array the Philalèthes and the Lyons' Illuminés in one united array. With all due respect to Père Didon, it must be said that to put up a flimsy substitute for assertions proved to be unsupported, is to exhibit a predilection for conclusions that run in advance of the evidence, and suggests the existence of some powerful anxiety to sustain a cause at all costs.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Firminger, for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. L. Edwards, seconded by Bro F. W. Golby; comments being offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. G. Elkington, L. Vibert, W. E. Moss, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. W. E. Moss *writes*:—

W.Bro. Firminger invited me to look through his paper on “Robison and Barruel” and offer any remarks which might occur to me. To attempt criticism, without repeated study, is beyond me. I can only marvel at the body of documented detail our Brother has laid before the Lodge, and its wider audience.

Assuredly, such outré Masonic witnesses as Robison and Barruel are worthy of examination in the light of independent historical work, available since either of them rushed temerarily into the field of letters, to tell posterity why certain great events in History occurred. Probably it is useless to criticise the theories propounded, on the one hand, by Robison, who had the reputation of being a lucid lecturer on Chemistry at Glasgow (1770) and at Edinburgh on Natural Philosophy, and marshalled so much unrelated matter to “prove” them; on the other, by Barruel, who had, one assumes, more than a little serious Jesuit education in logical method, and the importance of having details as correct as he could ascertain, but failed to detect that his “undistributed middle” premiss vitiated his conclusions.

I am forcibly reminded of the noble body of “Paradoxers” to whom Augustus de Morgan raised such an entertaining tomb (he would have written “tome”)—the Circle-Squarers, the Angle-trisectors, the Cube-Duplicators and other oddities. W.Bro. Firminger bids fair to rank as the Augustus de Morgan of the Masonic Historico-Paradoxers. He is quite right to eschew criticism of their theories. They destroy one another! De Morgan gave up arguing with living disputants. They always began, “Let us assume that So-and-so is true” (But I won’t, says de Morgan!). “Then such-and-such follows quite logically!” (Of course. Start with a false datum and you can get plenty of logical false conclusions, very specious!)

The odd thing is that the world in bulk learns, but slowly, the necessity of ordered argumentation—of “parliamentary procedure”—and that the system known as *Petitio Principii* is somewhat mouldy, revive it howsoever they may in “totalitarian states of ideology”. Conducted by many who have never heard of either Robison or Barruel, the same thing goes on. I have a queer pamphlet, “The Pith and Marrow of the Closing and Coming Century and related position of Freemasonry and Jesuitry” (I should have thought that “Centuries” and “Positions” were more appropriate!) It is American, undated, but I think of 1898, and is signed “Rameses”.

And how many times lately have we been solemnly admonished that a fearsome cabal of “Jesuits, Freemasons and International Jews” has engineered all the ills of the world? Presently someone will discover that people with red hair, or no hair, or black beards or blue eyes are the cause; old wives’ tales enow exist to prompt them. That seems to be the clue to the odd behaviour of Robison and Barruel. The former thought that “given a chance” mankind would confine its interests to scientific study and methods, and so naturally behave docilely. Only a directed and malign influence could prevent this. (This is a commonplace of pseudo-science; the Influence must exist, as, in its absence, man would behave himself; Rousseauism in Robison’s case, of course). Barruel assumed that orderly Jesuit teaching (sufficiently “imposed” to become “learning”, in unreceptive cases) would abolish difficulties. Its non-success could be explained only by a counter “conjuration”. Hence the witch-hunt by a most oddly-assorted pack.

The importance to us of the paradoxers is that they industriously assemble stores of putatively relevant matter, valuable frequently as finger-posts to True History which may be embedded therein. The collector of "Specimen Boots of Famous Historical Characters" had indeed an unrelated museum. You cannot seriously argue about "Boots" as an index to, or as a formative of Character. But as Famous Characters can be dated, the collection would be invaluable to a Historian of Footwear!

A point or two. Bro. Firminger quotes Parkman as saying that Robison was a "young midshipman" in Wolfe's attack on Quebec. The young midshipman was, I think, Admiral Knowles' son, his pupil. Robison was there, too, but had no naval rank at all. Curiously a very different masonic worthy, Thomas Dunckerley, also was there, but whether climbing the Heights of Abraham or conducting the feint of a barrage from the ships, does not yet appear. About nine months later, he installed the first Provincial Grand Master of Canada, at Quebec.

I have been asked whether any trace of a French Lodge, under the old Gde. Loge, in Canada, is to be found. None is known in Canada, it seems. But to follow Jouast only about seventeen Lodges of its constitution, prior to 1760, are known by name, all in France, in Europe. The first West Indies Lodge he gives is of 1760.

Robison's Mother Lodge, "La Parfaite Intelligence" at Liège, is given by the careful Jouast as of 12th October, 1775 (Gd. Orient), claiming to have been working since 1770. Bord, who turns the name into "*Lille*", says it was recognised 29th February, 1776, and "back-dated" to the above date in 1775, plus the claim, awaiting substantiation, of 1770. "*Lille*" must be a pure typographic error for Liège. There was a still older Lodge at Lille, the "Amis Réunis", with a Gde. Loge authority for 15th June, 1766. It may have been older, with days of independence. The G.O. added two more, at Lille, in 1781 and 1783. I do not credit the removal of a Lodge from Liège to Lille, unless it were a military lodge.

A study of "Masonic personalities" might reveal something, could one collect a gallery.

Jouast dismisses the Gde. Loge with contempt, after 1773. Yet they may have struggled along, with a few faithful and elderly adherents at Paris, and a few more far afield, where French troops and French "colons" were building up the civilisation of the future. For these, we must depend on our fellow-archæologists in France. Here, we can work with them freely, and mayhap, trust that the future for those who follow later will bring about a removal of obstacles to a union in aim, whose presence everyone regrets. Perchance I speak foolishly. But every "corporate reunion" of thinking mankind makes for understanding and peace. Let it happen so.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The investigations of Bro. Firminger suggest that behind the vast smoke of the Proofs of a Conspiracy there was very little actual fire. I believe that a much better case could be made out for the existence of Freemasonry as a conspiracy to get rid of the House of Hanover and to restore the Stuarts to the throne of England. We have the activities of prominent Jacobites as Freemasons on the Continent and the corresponding activities in this country of Dr. Rawlinson, who is described by Pennant as "the non-juring Bishop of London". In his time there were behind the non-political modern masons the unknown master masons and side degrees, some of which could have been Jacobite Clubs less liable to suspicion than house parties or other methods of organising meetings

for political purposes. At a later date we get definite documentary evidence of the existence of a Jacobite Grand Lodge of London and also a petition from the London Rose Croix Chapter asking the Duke of Cumberland to become their head in place of the Stuart Pretender. Other political fragments might be strung to these facts to make out a quite presentable case.

The truth seems to be that while Freemasonry is non-political and tolerant in religious matters, Freemasons are by no means uniform in this respect, and one may suspect that at times they have made attempts to utilise the Craft for the furtherance of their particular aims. This was probably as true in Robison's time as at any other date, and the romantic historian does the rest.

BRO. FIRMINGER writes, in reply:—

I have to thank Bro. Bullamore and Bro. Moss for their kind comments on my paper. To the latter I am deeply indebted for the assistance he has generously afforded me in correction of the printers' proofs. To Bro. Bullamore I would say that a *Jeu-d'esprit*, such as he suggests as a more plausible essay than that of Robison, has been attempted, notably in the pages of *L'Initiation* by Teder, and with such success that our late Bro. Yarker appears to have been—I cannot put it more mildly—completely bamboozled. Evidence of an acquaintance with some comparatively obscure incidents in English History gives Teder's argumentation a specious appearance of plausibility, but alas! when we come to examine the binding links we find fiction and not fact. For instance, Teder to support his theory represents Grand Master the second Duke of Richmond as a Papist and one likely to serve the Jacobite cause, but we know for certain that this is contrary to fact. The Duke was an obdurate Whig and a Protestant. The unfortunate aspect of the matter is that writers in France so well informed as Emile Dermenghens are wont to quote Teder as a reliable authority. I do, however, most sincerely trust that Bro. Bullamore's reference to Dr. Rawlinson will not lead to the Doctor being sent aloft to hatch out eggs in a mare's nest, although I must at the same time confess that I would dearly love to examine the documentary evidence for the existence of a Jacobite Grand Lodge in London.

In my paper I have shown that there is no evidence to prove that many of the persons whom Barruel and Robison assert to have been Masons, were so in fact. I have not proceeded from that to draw the conclusion that no Masons were Jacobins or Illuminati. Had I done so I would have fallen into what Bro. Moss quite rightly states to be the logical fallacy that besets Barruel's method—the fallacy of the undistributed middle term. Joseph de Maistre, the champion of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility, was in his younger days an ardent Mason, and admirer of Saint Martin, and a correspondent with Willermoz. In later days, when the representative of the Court of Sardinia at St. Petersburg, he kept up a friendship with Count Alexandre Stroganoff, who had held high office in the Grand Orient of France, and had been a founder of *Loge Candeur* and an Associate of *Loge des Neuf Sœurs*. In his censure of Barruel's book, De Maistre very truly says that the error of the Abbé was “prendre pour la chose la corruption de la chose”. The Abbé, however, did Masonry a service when, quite illogically, he attempted to condemn it by setting forth the perverse sayings of some of its professed adherents. Probably in no respect has the good reputation of the Craft been exposed to attack than by the fanciful inventions, the misdirected enthusiasm, and unauthorised dogmatic utterances of not a few of its irresponsible would-be oracles.

A few days after these pages were sent to the press I came across in the *Correspondence of Schiller with Koerner*¹ some passages which substantiate what I have advanced as to Bode's visit to the Lodge *Amis Reunis* in 1787. Koerner writes, on September 18th: "Bode seems to have given you a very partial description of French affairs. He was too short a time in Paris to have heard more than one side of the question, and party spirit there is virulent. His principal informant was doubtless Savalette de Langes, head of the Lodge to which Bode paid a visit. Ask him about this man. Perhaps he also met Duchanteau".² It need hardly be pointed out that if Bode's visit was too short to enable him to learn "more than one side of the question", his time was even less adequate to fire the French Revolution. Of Schiller's devoted friend, Dr. Koerner, of Leipzig, Savalette de Langes himself has given an account in that *cahier* he drew up for the information of the Marquis de Chefdebien d'Amard which our Brother J. E. S. Tuckett has given in full in *A.Q.C.*, xxx.

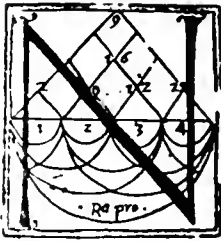
¹ *Correspondence of Schiller with Koerner*, Translated by Leonard Simpson, 3 Vols., 1849. Schiller writes, Aug. 29, 1787: "Bode arrived here [Weimar] yesterday, but I have not called upon him; he is not very well: but I shall look in upon him next week". (Vol. I., p. 141.). Refers to an exciting *tête-a-tête* with Bode (p. 142), a supper given by Goethe to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, Wieland, Herder and Lavater (all Freemasons), p. 146.

² Koerner had in 1780 travelled in Switzerland in company with the Comte de Schoenbourg and come under the influence of Lavater. At Paris he "was present at the working of the first 8 classes of the Philalèthes", and Savalette had designated him a corresponding number for Leipsic: but, says the latter, he and the Comte fell under the spell of Duchanteau. It is noteworthy that Savalette describes Duchanteau as "that false prophet". Lavater's objections to the Illuminati system were: (1) that every society whose aim, is the increase of its members rather than the good of the world is "en dehors der *Spiritus Mundi*", and (2) every attempt to reform the world by a secret plan is vicious. So Koerner (*Op. cit.*, I., 148) writes to Schiller, whom Bode was endeavouring to proselitize, "the noblest aim of a society which is connected by *subordination*, can never be safe against abuse, which out-balances its advantages". Koerner belonged to the Strict Alliance. "Some of his principles", says Savalette, "were analogous to those of the Coens" i.e., the Lyons transcendental Christians.



LODGES IN GUERNSEY: PRECEDENCE.

BY BRO. G. S. KNOCKER.



O Masonic student could fail to register a feeling of mild astonishment when, in turning over the pages of Lane's *Masonic Records*, he reached pages 241 and 242 (2nd Edition) and found that the Brethren of the Island of Guernsey obtained Warrants for no less than six new Lodges in the short period between May 1809 and June 1810. All these were issued under the authority of the 'Moderns' or Prince of Wales' Grand Lodge of England and were for the following Lodges:—

| | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 610 | Orange Lodge | 8th May 1809 |
| 611 | Mariners' Lodge | 8th May 1809 |
| 612 | Lodge of Harmony | 8th May 1809 |
| 613 | Lodge of Unity | 8th May 1809 |
| 615 | Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship | 8th March 1810 |
| 623 | Lodge of Loyalty | 17th June 1810 |

Surely a small community of approximately 20,000 souls all told, could not really require six new Lodges when, by tracing back Lane's *Records*, it is found that there were already six other Lodges at work in the Island at the time. But when it is noted that all these latter six were working under 'Antients' or Athol Warrants we may reasonably expect the situation to develop in a dramatic or at least in an interesting manner, and by patiently following the faint clues left after the passage of more than a century and a quarter I think our expectations will not be entirely disappointed.

The Athol Lodges in active operation in Guernsey in the years 1809 and 1810 were:—

| | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 116B | Orange Lodge | 12th May 1789 |
| 222 | Mariners' Lodge | 10th March 1784 |
| 334 | Lodge of Harmony | 26th August 1805 |
| 336 | Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship | 6th September 1806 |
| 98B | | 14th September 1807 |
| 337 | Lodge of Unity | 6th September 1806 |
| 349 | Loyalty Lodge | 18th August 1810 |

In a note after the entry of Lodge 615—Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship under the 'Moderns' Grand Lodge on page 241 Brother Lane remarks:—

“The above five Guernsey Lodges appear to be duplicates. It will be seen that they are put on the list with precisely the same names as those warranted by the Athol G.L.”

This note although sufficient for a book of reference, hardly explains the peculiar sequence of circumstances which gave rise to such an extensive duplication.

The key to unlock this Masonic mystery is to be found in the second number, 98B, assigned to Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship in September, 1807, by the Athol Grand Lodge, just a year after its original constitution in September, 1806, when it was allotted No. 336 and took precedence accordingly below Nos. 116B, 222 and 334.

The original Athol Lodge bearing the number 98 was a military one working in the Garrison of Elizabeth Castle, Jersey, in the years 1762 and 1763 which appears to have died out during or soon after the latter year.¹ In the Register of the 'Antients' Grand Lodge, at the bottom of the page headed "Lodge No. 98" and under the list of its members, can be seen this note in the handwriting of Brother Robert Leslie, the Grand Secretary:—

"Transferred and granted to the Brothers of Doyls (*sic*) Lodge of Fellowship No 336 His Excellency Lieut. Genl. Sir John Doyle Knt. Bar. Lieut. Govr. & Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty forces in Guernsey &c
 David Watson Esqre
 Thomas Le Lievre Esqre
 at the Crown & Anchor Tavern Guernsey, upon the first & 3rd Monday & on all lawful occasions by His Grace the Duke of Atholl &c &c
 The Rt. W. Brothers Thomas Harper D.G.M. Richd. Humphrey J.G.W.
 W. Master
 S. Warden
 J. Warden
 Grand Master
 J. B. Roach S.G.W.

Robt. Leslie G.S.

14th Sept. 1807 "

A Warrant giving effect to this transfer was drawn up and duly signed and the Lodge is working under it to this day. It is dated 14th September, 1807, agreeing with the note, and bears the number 98.

Going back to Lane's *Records* once more we find on page 99 against the entry of Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship the following note:—

"No. 336A purchased No. 98A for £21, on 14th September, 1807 "

I am inclined to think that Twenty Guineas is an under-statement, for the Grand Lodge books show that the Lodge paid the following sums in the years 1807, 1808 and 1809:—

| | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| 29th July 1807 | £21- 3- 6 |
| 29th October 1808 | £25- 8- 0 |
| 11th November 1809 | £ 4- 5- 0 |

At this point we must hark back to ascertain the position held by Sir John Doyle (born in Dublin, 1756; died 8th August 1834) in the Island and in Freemasonry, at the period under consideration, as both have a direct bearing on our enquiry. Sir John was appointed Lieut. Governor of Guernsey in 1804, after having served with great distinction in America and in Égypt, and so popular did he become in that office that a column, bearing the simple inscription "DOYLE: PUB: GRAT." was erected in his honour on the high cliffs above St. Peter's Port which is familiar to everyone approaching the Island by boat. His Baronetcy was conferred in 1805.

When he came to Guernsey he was a Freemason of some twelve years' standing, having been initiated under the 'Moderns' Constitution in the Prince of Wales Lodge, then No. 412, held at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, London, and now No. 259 and a Red Apron Lodge. When he had been in the Island three years—in 1807—he was appointed Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Channel Islands created in 1753 by the Prince of Wales, G.M.; but the position was a sinecure, for there was not a single Lodge under that jurisdiction working in Guernsey, and only one active in Jersey, and there is no evidence that Sir John ever took any interest in Masonic affairs in the latter Island. Bearing in mind that in 1807 there were five active Lodges working

¹ See Freemasonry in Jersey, page 43.

under the 'Antients' Constitution in Guernsey, we need not be surprised to find him being "re-made" under that system. The ceremony took place in Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship No. 336 Athol Constitution, when that Lodge had been in existence about nine months, on 23rd June 1807, and he was Ballotted for, Initiated, Passed, Raised, and Passed through the Chair at one sitting, the proceedings not being terminated before 3 o'clock the next morning. A few days later he was elected and Installed into the Chair of W.M. of the Lodge.

Apparently in anticipation of the advent of this distinguished new member, the first W.Master of No. 336, Brother Nicholas Effard Robinson, commenced early in 1807 to take steps to advance the local precedence of the Lodge from 4th place on the Guernsey roll to 1st by obtaining a disused higher number. In this aim he was successful as we have already seen, for the number 98 then vacant was assigned and No. 336 was re-constituted as No. 98 by Bro. Revd. Chas. Isdell, who was deputed to act as a Deputy Provincial Grand Master on the occasion—(23rd March, 1808). The position of the "Number One" Lodge in a District or Province, such as was the Island of Guernsey in those days, conferred not only the honour of Masonic seniority but the authority in settling disputes and adjudicating on the controversies arising in the junior Lodges, and it was no doubt held, in this case, that the Lodge of which Sir John was a member was best suited to fill this position. It must be made clear at this point that there is no evidence whatever that Sir John took any action in the negotiations for obtaining the senior number or even lent the influence of his name, and in support of this view that he personally was not really keen on the change, we later find a record, that when discontent became manifest in the older Lodges, he proposed that Doyle's Lodge relinquish the No. 98 and remain No. 336. The Lodge, however, rejected his proposal by a majority of votes.

Even the best and most tolerant Freemasons are but human, and it was too much to expect that the Brethren of the older Lodges founded in 1784 and 1789 would accept without protest a parvenu of 1806 taking rank above them. The four older Athol Lodges, Orange No. 116, Mariners' No. 222, Harmony No. 334 and Unity No. 337 so greatly resented the change that they sent an indignant petition to the authorities in London. This drew a long epistle from Brother Thomas Harper, the Deputy Grand Master of the 'Antients', expressing surprise at the vehement complaints, and regret at the "narrow-minded motives and mistaken ideas" which actuated the petitioners. He then proceeded in a paternal vein to explain that it was advantageous that a Lodge composed of "the Governor and persons of the first respectability in the Island" should be in the senior position, in order to deal with any matters of controversy which might arise in the other Lodges. This letter is still in existence and is dated 31st December, 1807. It is not surprising that Brother Harper's sophistries failed to allay the discontent, and the year 1808 passed without any settlement of the grievance, the older Lodges boycotting the re-constitution of Doyle's Lodge and Sir John consequently resigning his membership.

Early in the next year the dis-satisfied Brethren of the older Lodges, who it must be remembered were all 'Antient' Masons, discovered a solution of their difficulty by resolving to found four new Lodges under the jurisdiction of the 'Moderns' Grand Lodge in which, of course, Sir John Doyle was Provincial Grand Master of the Channel Isles. As a result, in May, 1809, Warrants were granted for four new Lodges bearing the names of the four old 'Antient' Lodges, Orange, Mariners', Harmony and Unity and the serial numbers 610, 611, 612 and 613. In the following March a new Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship was warranted bearing the number 615, thus definitely fixing its precedence below the four already named. The Warrant for this Lodge was issued by Sir John Doyle himself in his capacity of Provincial G. Master, and fortunately is still in existence, and as Provincial Warrants are not so very plentiful, it may be

worth reproducing here. It is on paper 30" x 24" and bears as a seal Sir John's personal arms: three stags' heads with two soldier supporters. The engrossing is by a skilled hand, but a few blanks have been filled in in a different handwriting. The Warrant is numbered in the margin "No. 5 Guernsey Establishment", thus making its local precedence among the 'Moderns' Lodges absolutely unmistakeable. It does not, however, bear the Grand Lodge No. 615, which according to Lane was assigned to the Lodge three months earlier, on 8th March, 1810.

WARRANT OF DOYLE'S LODGE OF FELLOWSHIP No. 615.



TO ALL AND EVERY our Right Worshipful, Worshipful and loving Brethren | We Lieut. General Sir John Doyle Bart. K.C. Colonel of the 87th Regiment of Foot, Lt. Governor of | Guernsey and Commanding in Chief His Majesty's Forces in the Islands of Guernsey & Alderney |

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER

No. 5
Guernsey
Establishment

Under the authority of His Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick Prince of Wales &c &c Grand Master | of the most Ancient and Honourable Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, send Greeting, |

KNOW YE THAT WE at the humble Petition of our right trusty and well beloved Brethren Anthony Priaulx | David Watson, Thomas Bell and several other Brethren residing in the ISLAND OF GUERNSEY Do hereby constitute the said Brethren | into a regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons under the Title or Denomination of Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship | to be opened in the Island of Guernsey aforesaid And We do further at their said Petition and of the great trust and confidence re | posed in every of the said above named Brethren hereby appoint Anthony Priaulx to be Master David Watson to be Senior Warden | and Thomas Bell to be Junior Warden for opening the said Lodge and for such further time only as shall be thought proper by the | Brethren thereof It being our Will that this our Appointment of the above Officers shall in no wise affect any future Election of Officers of the Lodge | But that such Election shall be regulated agreeable to such Bye Laws of the said Lodge as shall be consistent with the General Laws of the Society con- | tained in the Book of Constitutions And we will and require you the said Anthony Priaulx to take special care that all and every of the | said Brethren are or have been regularly made Masons . . . [illegible] . . . to observe perform and keep all the Rules and Orders contained in the Book | of Constitutions. And further that you do from time to time cause to be entered in a Book to be kept for that purpose an account of your Proceedings | in the Lodge together with all such Rules Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good Government of the same That in no wise you omit | once in every year to send to Us or the Grand Master or to Sir Peter Parker &c Deputy Grand Master or to the | Pro Grand Master for the time being an account in writing of your said Proceedings and Copies of all such Rules Orders and Regulations as shall | be made as aforesaid together with a List of the Members of the

Lodge and such a sum of Money as may suit the circumstances of the Lodge and reasonably be expected towards the Grand Charity. Moreover we hereby will and require you the said Anthony Priaulx as soon as conveniently may be to send to us an account in writing of what may be done by virtue of these Presents. |

By Command

of the P Grand

Master

(signed)

A. B. Allez (?)

Pl. Grand Secretary

Given at Government House Guernsey under our Hand

and Seal this 11th day of June 1810 A L 5810 A D 1810 |

(signed) Doyle P.G.Master

for the Islands of Guernsey Jersey Alderney & Sark

Following closely on the new Doyle's Lodge, still another 'Moderns' Lodge was found to be necessary and a Warrant was obtained on 17th June for Lodge of Loyalty No. 623, thus making six new Lodges in the Province. A mass Consecration of these was planned and it took place with elaborate ceremonial and public pomp on 18th June, 1810, when a Provincial Grand Lodge was opened by Sir John Doyle after a service in St. Peter's Church, and being followed by a Dinner. By a fortunate circumstance, while searching over some old books and papers, the writer found a very graphic description of the day's proceedings in a monthly non-masonic journal for June, 1810, called the "Jersey Magazine", and considers it of sufficient interest, as showing some of the customs of our Brethren of 130 years ago, to warrant reproduction here. A point to be noted is that although the occasion was the Consecration of 'Moderns' Lodges the Brethren who took part could not suddenly abandon their 'Antients' customs; thus we find the officers wearing robes and the Knight Templars, Knights Red Cross and other high Orders forming part of the procession.

ARTICLE from "Jersey Magazine"—June 1810—page 287.

"On Monday 18th inst. a spectacle was exhibited in Guernsey, which, for novelty and brilliancy, has never been equalled in these islands. The provincial grand master His Ex. Lieut. General Sir John Doyle, having been pleased to express to the presiding officers of the modern lodges of free masons, that he would on that day hold a provincial grand lodge, for the purpose of installing them; the following procession paraded from the long rooms to government house:—

A squadron of light horse.

A band of music.

Tylers of lodges two and two.

Brethren entered apprentices in appropriate clothing two and two.

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|-----|
| Brethren fellow crafts | do | do | do. |
|------------------------|----|----|-----|

| | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|-----|
| ———— master masons | do | do | do. |
|--------------------|----|----|-----|

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|-----|
| ———— past master masons | do | do | do. |
|-------------------------|----|----|-----|

| | | | |
|--|----|----|-----|
| ———— royal arch companion (<i>sic</i>) | do | do | do. |
|--|----|----|-----|

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|----|-----|
| ———— knights templars (<i>sic</i>) | do | do | do. |
|--------------------------------------|----|----|-----|

Red Cross knights and other high orders two and two.

Twelve deacons in white robes and appropriate clothing and jewels two and two.

| | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|-----|
| Treasurers of lodges | do | do | do. |
|----------------------|----|----|-----|

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|-----|
| Secretaries of lodges | do | do | do. |
|-----------------------|----|----|-----|

Junior Wardens of lodges in purple robes, appropriate clothing and jewels, two and two.

Grand sword bearer in a scarlet robe, &c.

Bible supported by two old masons in white robes, &c.
 Grand Chaplain, brother the reverend C. D. Isdell in his robes.
 Grand Treasurer P. Maingy, esq. and grand secretary capt. R. K. Abbey in white robes &c.
 Senior Grand warden Sir Th. Saumarez, and junior grand warden John Le Serre, esq. in purple silk robes, Jewels, &c.
 Masters of the two junior lodges in scarlet robes.
 Deputy provincial grand master major general Heran, in a purple silk robe, supported by the masters of the two next junior lodges, in scarlet robes; all with appropriate jewels and clothing.

A squadron of light horse.

The procession having reached government house it was joined by the provincial grand master His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir John Doyle, Barronet, (*sic*) and K.C. in a scarlet silk robe, embroidered with gold, with jewels, and appropriate clothing, supported by the masters of the two senior lodges in scarlet robes:—it then proceeded to St. Peter's church in the same order, (the provincial grand master with his supporters following the deputy grand master:—the provincial grand master's carriage and horses richly caparisoned, with a squadron of light horse in the rear. Arrived at the church, a most excellent sermon was preached by the grand chaplain, from the 13th of Hebrews, and 1st verse, "Let brotherly love continue"—A collection being made, the procession returned to the long rooms in the same masonic order; when the provincial grand lodge was opened in due form and the officers of the several lodges installed.

Orange lodge No. 1 on the Guernsey establishment.

Mariners lodge No. 2 do do do.

Lodge of Harmony No. 3 do do.

Lodge of Unity No. 4 do do.

Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship No. 5 do.

Lodge of loyalty No. 6 on the do.

The brethren then dined together and spent the evening in true masonic harmony.

After dinner the provincial grand master was pleased, whilst elegantly commenting on the proceedings of the day, to propose that the provincial grand chaplain should be requested to permit the lodge to print the very excellent sermon which he had favoured them with on the occasion, which being unanimously and warmly urged by the body, brother the reverend C. Isdell returned thanks for the honour thus conferred, and assented thereto.

The lodge was closed about ten o'clock and the members departed impressed with heartfelt gratitude to their R.W. Head, for the condescending and paternal kindness with which he conducted the business of the day, and solicitously provided for the comfort, happiness, and satisfaction of every one present.

Perhaps there never was an assembly of between two and three hundred persons, that behaved with more propriety; the perfect order observed throughout the procession and meeting being in every sense highly honourable to the fraternity".

In these more prosaic days it is cheering to picture the long procession with its pageantry, its squadrons of horse, its band, and the two or three hundred Brethren in their scarlet, purple, blue and white robes (silk for

Provincial Officers mark you!) winding its way up and down the picturesque, hilly, narrow, cobbled streets of St. Peter's Port in the clear atmosphere and bright sunshine of this gem of the Channel Islands. The text chosen by the Provincial Grand Chaplain suited the occasion with particular aptitude, and finally the admirable testimonial as to the conduct of the Brethren, given by the journalist in the last paragraph reflects credit, not only on the Masons in Guernsey, but also on the members of the Craft as a whole.

It is to be regretted that the narrative of this episode cannot be closed on this happy note, but authentic history shows that the differences of opinion continued for a number of years. In August, 1810, a new Athol Loyalty Lodge was formed presumably to counterbalance the Lodge of Loyalty warranted by the 'Moderns' in the previous June, and thus there were then six Lodges in each jurisdiction, with duplicate names and most of the members nominally belonging to one in each camp. At the Union in 1813 all the twelve Lodges were "returned" and received new numbers as follows:—

| <i>Pre-Union</i> | <i>Post-Union</i> | |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 116 Orange | 141 | Erased 1828 |
| 222 Mariners' | 279 | Still working |
| 334 Harmony | 428 | Erased 1829 |
| 336 } Doyle's | 123 | Still working |
| 98 } | | |
| 337 Unity | 431 | Erased 1828 |
| 349 Loyalty | 448 | Still working |
| 610 Orange | 617 | Erased 1829 |
| 611 Mariners' | 618 | Erased 1829 |
| 612 Harmony | 619 | Erased 1829 |
| 613 Unity | 620 | Erased 1829 |
| 615 Doyle's | 622 | Erased 1821 |
| 623 Loyalty | 630 | Erased 1829 |

For some while work was carried on in a confused manner under both Warrants, but gradually the senior numbers allotted to the Athol Lodges swayed the membership towards them until finally the higher numbers were abandoned and the Warrants of all the 'Moderns' Lodges were returned to United Grand Lodge by 1829. Of the original 'Antients' Lodges, Mariners' No. 168, Doyle's No. 84 and Loyalty No. 243 are still working and worthily upholding the traditions of the Craft in the Province of Guernsey.

A relic of these troublous times has survived in the form of a Private Lodge Clearance Certificate Form engraved for the Lodge of Harmony (Moderns). It is an artistic piece of work by "Br. N. W. Isemonger delin." and "Br. Blake Sculp." and in it the thorny subject of PRECEDENCE is brought prominently to notice by the inscription—"Lodge of Harmony, No. 612 on the Registry of England and No. 3 on the Guernsey Establishment".

EARLY FREEMASONRY IN CHESTER

AND

COLONEL FRANCIS COLUMBINE, THE PREMIER PROVINCIAL
GRAND MASTER AT CHESTER, 1724-25, AND HIS PROVINCIAL
GRAND OFFICERS.

BY R. H. GOUGH SMALLWOOD, *P.Prov.A.G.Sec., N. Wales.*

*Read before the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, at the Summer Meeting at Chester
20th June, 1936.*

INTRODUCTION.



WHEN making a survey of the rare and richly historical treasures of architecture to be found in the old City of Chester one is inevitably reminded of the work of the ancient operative craftsmen who have left in the City their "Marks" cut in stone.

It is interesting to note that in Chester there have been located a number of the King's Master Masons for the City and the County of Chester and North Wales, of whom a list from about 1300 to 1765 is in existence.

The Chester Company of Masons had their allotted part in the ancient mystery plays of the old City, and their guild or company had a coat of Arms, of which the following is a description by Randle Holme, the third of that name of Chester (1627-1700). The Arms are stated to have been borne in the sixteenth century, and are described:—Sable, on a chevron between three towers, Argent, a pair of compasses extended, Sable (of old the towers were triple towered); the crest on a wreath, a tower Argent—the escutcheon is cotised with two columns of the Corinthian (or Tuscan or Doric) Order, or; Motto, "In the Lord is all our Trust".

In early times Bishops and Abbots were the builders of Cathedrals and Abbeys, and in old cities and towns the operative Freemasons would have their homes and lodges, and in Chester their ceremonies and regulations probably absorbed, at an early period, portions of the "Polychronicon" or Universal History which was written in St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, by Ralph Higden, between 1330 and 1364. This famous book is a history of the then-known world up to 1357 and contains a reference to "the two pillars" and the doings of Tubal Cain. There is in Chester Cathedral an early manuscript copy of the "Polychronicon" written in Latin on vellum. Later copies were printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, as well as by the Government.

Ralph Higden lies buried against the south wall in the South Aisle of the Choir of Chester Cathedral, where there is an ancient tombstone to mark his resting-place.

The stories of Tubal Cain and others were in due course incorporated in the "Ancient Charges", which treasured documents often contain a traditional history of the Craft. As for their origin, philosophers assert that this was in the western part of England, and in this connection it is a pleasure to record that there is one copy still carefully preserved in the Cestrian Lodge, as well as a copy made by Randle Holme, the Chester Antiquary, in the British Museum, where are also other ancient copies of these old manuscripts.

In St. Mary's Church (by the Castle at) Chester is buried Bro. Randle Holme, and in the North Aisle there are monuments to members of his family, and an Entrance porch erected by the Freemasons of Cheshire to his memory.

In early times the speculative masons were accepted in the operative lodges, and there has been preserved a list of members, twenty-six in number, of what may be called the first speculative Lodge held in the City of Chester about 1673-5, together with the "words and signes of a free-Mason" as well as *The Constitutions of Masonry*, all in the handwriting of Randle Holme of Chester. This is the earliest list extant of the members of a Lodge in the provinces if we may exclude the Lodge held at Warrington in 1645.

The members of this old Chester Lodge have been identified by W.Bro. S. L. Coulthurst and W.Bro. P. Hugh Lawson in a paper contributed by them to the *Transactions* of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, vol. xlv. (1932), pp. 68-89. A most valuable contribution to the early history of Freemasonry in the city.

There is another interesting association with Chester. Bro. George Payne, the second Grand Master in 1718, was baptised on 12th May, 1687, at Holy Trinity Church, Chester, as the son of Mr. Samuel Pane, a merchant of the City of Chester. Bro. George Payne was installed a second time in 1720.

G.M. George Payne was apparently the first to evince any interest in Masonic research. Dr. James Anderson, in his *Constitutions* of 1738, p. 110, states that on Payne's first installation as G.M. in 1718 he "recommended the strict observance of the Quarterly Communications and desired any Brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge any old Writings and Records concerning Masons and Masonry, in order to show the usages of ancient times"; and that, in that year, several old copies of the *Gothic Constitutions* were produced and collated.

In support of the foregoing statement the Diary of Dr. William Stukeley, under date 24th June, 1721, states that "The G.M. Mr. Pain produc'd an old MS. of the *Constitutions* which he got in the West of England, 500 years old". This old MS. has been identified as the Cooke MS. of the early fifteenth century. There are several references in the Cooke MS. to the *Polychronicon*.

Grand Master George Payne is described as a "learned antiquarian". During his second term of office as Grand Master he compiled the "General Regulations" which were afterwards finally arranged and published in what is commonly known as the first *Book of Constitutions* of 1723, published by Dr. James Anderson; and in 1754 he was appointed a member of the Committee to revise the *Book of Constitutions* which was afterwards brought out by Bro. the Rev^d. John Entick in 1756.

With regard to Bro. Payne's position in the early days of Grand Lodge, which was sufficiently prominent to cause him to be elected Grand Master in 1718, when only 31 years of age, a question suggests itself as to whether he had any masonic inclination or knowledge at Chester before he went to London. Also did he know anything of any of the local "Ancient Charges"?

Early in the eighteenth century, Chester was an important town in addition to being a City with two ancient Cathedral Churches, eight ancient parish churches and a Mayor and corporation. It was the County Town, and

a port for travellers to and from Ireland. It was also the military headquarters of the Western Command and the centre of the judicial system for Chester and North Wales. It was practically the then Capital for North Wales and the residential quarters in winter of most of the County Gentry of Cheshire and of North Wales. In those days it was often not safe to live in the county residences in the winter and far too dangerous to travel to London, and in fact almost impossible to get there.

In 1715 Thomas Warburton of Winnington in Cheshire and of Penrhyn (now Penrhyn Castle) near Bangor, Carnarvonshire, was appointed Chamberlain and Chancellor for the Counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth, and had a house in Chester—between his two County residences. After his death in 1727 his son Captain Hugh Warburton succeeded him and held the Office up to his death in 1771.

The Chief Justice of Chester and North Wales at this period was Mr. Justice Spencer Cowper, a brother to Lord Chancellor, William, Earl Cowper. Mr. Justice Cowper was also Attorney-General to the then Prince of Wales. When the Chief Justice went on circuit to Chester and through North Wales he would be accompanied by his usual retinue of officials and clerks, among whom would probably be his eldest son, William Cowper.

The premier Grand Lodge was established in 1717 by the association of four old speculative Lodges in London, and in June, 1723, the before-named William Cowper was appointed the first Secretary to Grand Lodge. At this early period the jurisdiction of Grand Lodge was restricted to within ten miles of London. In February, 1726-7 (O.S.) Bro. Cowper became Deputy Grand Master to Lord Inchiquin.

It is an established historical fact that before the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717, and for many years after, there were numerous Lodges scattered over various parts of the country, meeting by "inherent right" and considering themselves regularised and properly discharging Masonic functions if they had with them a copy of the "Old Charges". The Old City of Chester was no exception inasmuch that in the first quarter of the eighteenth century there were three Lodges meeting in Chester; a number greater than in any other provincial town.

It is quite well within the realms of possibility that Bro. William Cowper would, as before suggested, accompany his father on circuit, and that while staying in Chester, being an active and enthusiastic Mason, would hear of the Lodges meeting in the city, and having visited them would, on his return to London, report to the G.M.

Secretary Cowper would further note the superior or influential class of the members, as many were army officers, representatives of the county families, and leading citizens of Chester.

Later as Deputy Grand Master Bro. William Cowper paid an official visit to the Lodges in Chester and took with him a letter from the Grand Master to the Chester Brethren. This letter will be more fully referred to later.

At this period a Colonel Francis Columbine was stationed in Chester with his regiment, the Tenth Foot. The Colonel married in 1721 in Chester and lived in the Parish of Holy Trinity, Chester (1722-25). It is also on record in Holy Trinity Registers that in November, 1725, the butler of the Colonel had a son baptized there. From an old Diary it would appear that in August, 1724, he and his wife were paying visits to their friends' houses on Merseyside, and also that on the 15th December of the same year he was a guest, with a number of County Gentlemen, at Stannay Hall, near Chester, where it is stated they in a moment of conviviality denominated the house as "Rake Hall". The twelve guests who were present inscribed their names on a pane of glass, viz.:—

Sir Charles Bunbury.
 Sir R. Grosvenor.
 Sir W. Stanley.
 Sir Francis Poole.
 Amos Meredith.
 Colonel Francis Columbine.
 Edward Mainwaring.
 Thomas Glazeor.
 Scherington Grosvenor.
 Seimour Cholomondeley.
 William Poole.
 Charles Bunbury, Junior.

The foregoing is given as an indication of the position of Chester as a place where early masonry would be expected to thrive and flourish as a hub of the craft, and also as a description of the local state of affairs leading to the advent of a new office in the hierarchy of Freemasonry as a Provincial Grand Master at Chester.

COLONEL FRANCIS COLUMBINE.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER, 1724.

From subsequent events we may safely assume that the three Chester Lodges assembled as usual on St. John's Day in Winter, and that on 27th December, 1724, in pursuance of their inherent right, elected Colonel Francis Columbine as Provincial Grand Master, Samuel Smith as Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Colonel Herbert Laurence and the before-named Captain Hugh Warburton as Provincial Grand Wardens; and that the officers of the several Lodges were elected by the members of their respective Lodges.

In 1725 Grand Lodge sent out a second request, this time to both London and the Provinces, for "A List of the Regular Constituted Lodges together with the Names of the Masters and Wardens and Members of Each Lodge as by Account deliver'd at a Quarterly Communication held on 27th November, 1725".

List of the Names of the Members (recorded in Grand Lodge first Minute Book) of the Lodge at the

"Sunn in Chester.

| | | |
|--|------------|-------------------------|
| Coll ^l fra Columbine | | provincial |
| | | Grand Ma ^r . |
| Sam ^l . Smith | | Deputy |
| Coll ^l . Herb ^t . Laurence | } | Wardens |
| Cap. Hugh Warburton | | |
| Hezekiah Hall | Batchelor | Ma ^r . |
| | of Phisick | |
| Edw ^d . Glegg | } | Wardens |
| Kiffin Williams | | |
| John Tristram | | |
| John Nichols | | |
| John Dannald | | |
| Solomon Tovey | | |
| W ^m . Wightman | | |
| Alderman Edw. Burroughs | | |
| Cap. Cha: Crossby | | |
| Lt Coll ^l John Lee | | |

Rich: Clark
 Cha. Young
 Tho: Lee
 Cap. John Vanberg
 Alburtus Burnaby
 Roger Cumberbach Esq^r.
 Cha: Clayton Esq^r.
 Cap. Rob. ffrazier
 Will: Dance Esq^r.
 Lievt. W^m. Tong
 Ensign Cha: Gordon
 Walter Warburton Cornett of Horse
 Tho: Hales "

List of the Members of the Lodge at the

" Spread Eagle in Chester.

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Mr. W ^m . Glover | Ma ^r . |
| Mr. Rich: Gough | } Wardens |
| Mr. Joseph Dennis | |
| Coll ^l . W ^m . Probey | |
| John Brook | |
| W ^m . Normington | |
| Tho: Vause | |
| Jn ^o . Heycock | |
| Tho: Mulleney | |
| W ^m . Milton | |
| W ^m . Ledsham | |
| Tho: Rowley | |
| Rob ^t . Biggs | |
| Tho: Leech | |
| Tho: Davies | |
| W ^m . Pulford | |
| Tho: ffoulkes | |
| Jn ^o . Cross | |
| Marmaduke Spence | |
| W ^m . Taylor | |
| Jam: Peacock | |
| Ralph Dutton | |
| Joseph Sewell | |
| Ensign Par. Donough | |
| W ^m . Selbey | |
| Cha: Whitehead | |
| Tho: Whitehead | |
| Victor Osborne " | |

List of the Members of the Lodge at the

" Castle and Faulkon in Chester.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Mr. Jn ^o . Coleclough | Ma ^r . |
| Mr. Hugh Jones | } Wardens |
| Mr. Tho: Gamull | |
| Rich: Ormes | |
| Benj: Williams | |
| Rich: Benjamin | |
| Peter Robinson | |

Dan : Okell
 Jam : Ordes
 John Briscoe
 Cha : Cottingham
 Benj : Worrall
 W^m. Williams
 Jn^o. Crane
 Jn^o. ffoulkes
 Sam : Dennall
 Hen : Winstanley
 Tho : Steel
 Rob : Massey
 W^m. Smith
 Richard Jennison
 Jn^o. Taylor
 Andr : Middleton
 Tho : Kettle ''

From the foregoing (being the second MS.) Return to Grand Lodge in 1725 of Lists of Members of Lodges is obtained the first official reference concerning the office of Provincial Grand Master, the Officers of the Province of Chester being given before those of the Master and Wardens of the senior Lodge meeting at Chester. It is not known how, or when, this Provincial Grand Lodge came into existence, but it was clearly recognised as such.

Colonel Columbine, the Provincial Grand Master, does not appear to have received (from Grand Lodge or the Grand Master) a "Deputation" to act in that capacity, but the fact that the names as Provincial Officers were accepted and recorded in the Grand Lodge Minutes places Cheshire in the proud position of having the first recorded Provincial Grand Master.

It is, however, undoubtedly in connection with the Chester Masonry that the term Provincial Grand Master is first used as distinct from the Grand Master and his Grand Lodge Officers in London.

Chester seems to have been amongst the first provincial Cities to become affiliated with the Grand Lodge formed in London in 1717 having been preceded only by Bath, Bristol, Norwich and Chichester, but Chester had three working Lodges in 1724.

One is inclined to the opinion that these three Lodges were actually founded earlier than 1724 to have been in such a flourishing condition. It should be noted that the Lodges at this early period were not known by any particular number but simply by the name of the Inn at which they met.

It would be interesting to prove, if possible, whether the members of the Chester Lodge of *circa* 1673-5 and their successors had continued to meet in Lodge so that by 1725, when the Return to Grand Lodge was rendered, the Brethren in Chester had increased in number from 26 to 80 and were meeting in three Lodges with Provincial Officers.

Having regard to the foregoing extracts from Grand Lodge Minute Book it is curious that Bro. Lane (the authority on Lodge Lists) in his "Masonic Records, 1717-1894", pp. 46-47, gives 1724 as year of constitution of the Lodges at the "Spread Eagle", Castle Lane, Chester, and "Castle and Falcon", Watergate Street, Chester, but omits all reference to what is commonly known as the senior Lodge at the "Sunn", in Bridge Street.

It would appear that the earliest official mention of the "Sunn" and "Spread Eagle" is in the first edition of Pine's engraved "List of Regular Lodges as constituted 'till March 1725", but the "Castle and Falcon", Watergate Street, City of Chester, does not appear until the second edition which

includes Lodges down to September, 1725. This was clearly omitted by the Engraver from its proper place in the former list, for it correctly follows the other two Chester Lodges in the manuscript List of the same period (Lane's "Handy Book, 1889", pp. 89.)

In 1695 when quite a youth Francis Columbine joined the army as an Ensign in the Eighth Regiment and rose to the rank of Major and Brevet Colonel, when in 1715 he transferred to the 10th Regiment of Foot, to which he was welcomed as Lieutenant Colonel. He served in the Wars of Queen Anne under the celebrated John, Duke of Marlborough. It is said that he performed the duty of Commanding Officer of the Regiment and preserved it in a high state of discipline and efficiency, and was rewarded with the Colonelcy early in 1737 and advanced on 2nd July, 1739, to the rank of Lieutenant General.

Colonel Columbine would appear to have gone in June, 1730, with the Tenth Regiment to Gibraltar (where it remained for 19 years), where he succeeded to the Colonelcy in 1737.

In about 1738, when probably with his Regiment at Gibraltar, he was made Governor-General of the City and Garrison of Gibraltar. As an indication of the importance of this position it should perhaps be mentioned that the father of Queen Victoria, H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, was later a Governor-General of Gibraltar.

In Vol. xi. of *A.Q.C.* for 1898, pp. 36-37, Dr. Chetwode Crawley says that Colonel F. Columbine, though unknown to the early historians of our Craft, was manifestly a soldier of position and influence. He succeeded to the command of the Tenth Foot in 1737 and held it until 1746 on his decease. In those days such an appointment meant much.

The Governor-General on his retirement inhabited a house at Hillingdon, Middlesex, which was formerly occupied by the Duke of Buccleugh. Here the General died, probably on 16th September, 1746, aged 66, and was buried on 18th September, 1746, in Hillingdon Churchyard, where there is to his memory an altar tombstone with a brick base.

The writer has had the privilege of making a pilgrimage to the Churchyard and was pleased to find the gravestone well preserved. The Polpody fern, finding root in the interstices of the brickwork, gave a touch of natural beauty to the Memorial. The Vicar very kindly furnished a copy of the inscription.

HILLINGDON Churchyard, Middx.

Copy of Epitaph on Tombstone.

Armorial Bearings of an elaborate character very much worn away.

Crest apparently a dove. Motto: Audaces fortuna jurat.

Here lies the body

Of the Hon^{ble} FRANCIS COLUMBINE Esq

Lt. Gen^l. of his Majesty's Forces.

And sometime Governor of Gibraltar

Where he married Anne

Daughter of Streynsham Master Esq.

Commissary and Judge Advocate of same place

He was a Gentleman

Of great Piety & exemplary life

Strict in the discharge

Both of his Military & Civil Duty's

A brave soldier

And a devout Christian

Beloved & esteemed by all that knew him

An affectionate husband

And indulgent parent
 A kind Master
 True & faithful friend
 To whose pious memory his mournful widow
 Had this monument erected
 He departed this life Sept 16th 1746 Aged 66.

The Gov^r. General made his Will, of which the following is a full abstract,
 viz. :—

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN, I FRANCIS COLUMBINE, Lieutenant General of all his Brittanick Majesties Land Forces Colonel of a Regiment of Foot and Commander in Chief of the City and Garrison of Gibraltar being in Good health of Body and of Sound and disposing mind and memory but considering the certainty of Death and the uncertainty of the time it may happen DO make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:

I recommend my soul into the hands of the Almighty, and my body to be committed to the earth at the discretion of my Executrix but with as little pomp and expense as decency and my character and place of my death will admit To my dear and loving wife Ann Columbine I devise and bequeath all my estate subject to payment of debts and thereby appointed her sole executrix,

WILL Dated 8th November, 1739 and proved by the Widow on 24th September, 1746 at P.C.C. London, (Edmunds 256).

It is fortunate that there has been preserved a portrait of the Premier Provincial Grand Master, of which a reproduction is given.

The portrait of General Francis Columbine and his wife, formerly Miss Ann Master, was painted in 1741 by Joseph Highmore and engraved by John Faber the younger. Highmore was a member of the Lodge which met in 1725 at the Swan in East Street, Greenwich, and in 1727 he was Junior Grand Warden for the Earl of Inchiquin. As such he attended Grand Lodge and subsequently for years was present there. He retired from his profession in 1761. John Faber, a celebrated engraver, was also a Mason, being a Grand Steward in 1730-40, and died in 1756. It may be interesting to add that Bro. Highmore painted the portrait of our first Grand Master, Anthony Sayer, of 1717, which Bro. Faber also engraved.

It is also a further pleasure to give copies of two of the Colonel's ex Libris or Bookplates. The smaller one is dated 1708 (when he was about 28 years of age) and gives only the Coat of Arms as borne by the Colonel. The other is after his marriage to Ann Master as it has the Master's armorial ensign on a shield of pretence, an indication that his wife, Ann, was an heiress.

“THE BOOK OF THE PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF WEST CHESTER”.

In or about the year 1897 the before-named Bro. Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley discovered in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, a large collection of MSS. comprising about thirteen hundred bound volumes, which formerly belonged to Bro. Dr. Richard Rawlinson (1689-1755), a D.C.L. of Oxford. (For a full account of the find see *A.Q.C.*, 1898, vol. xi., p. 36.)

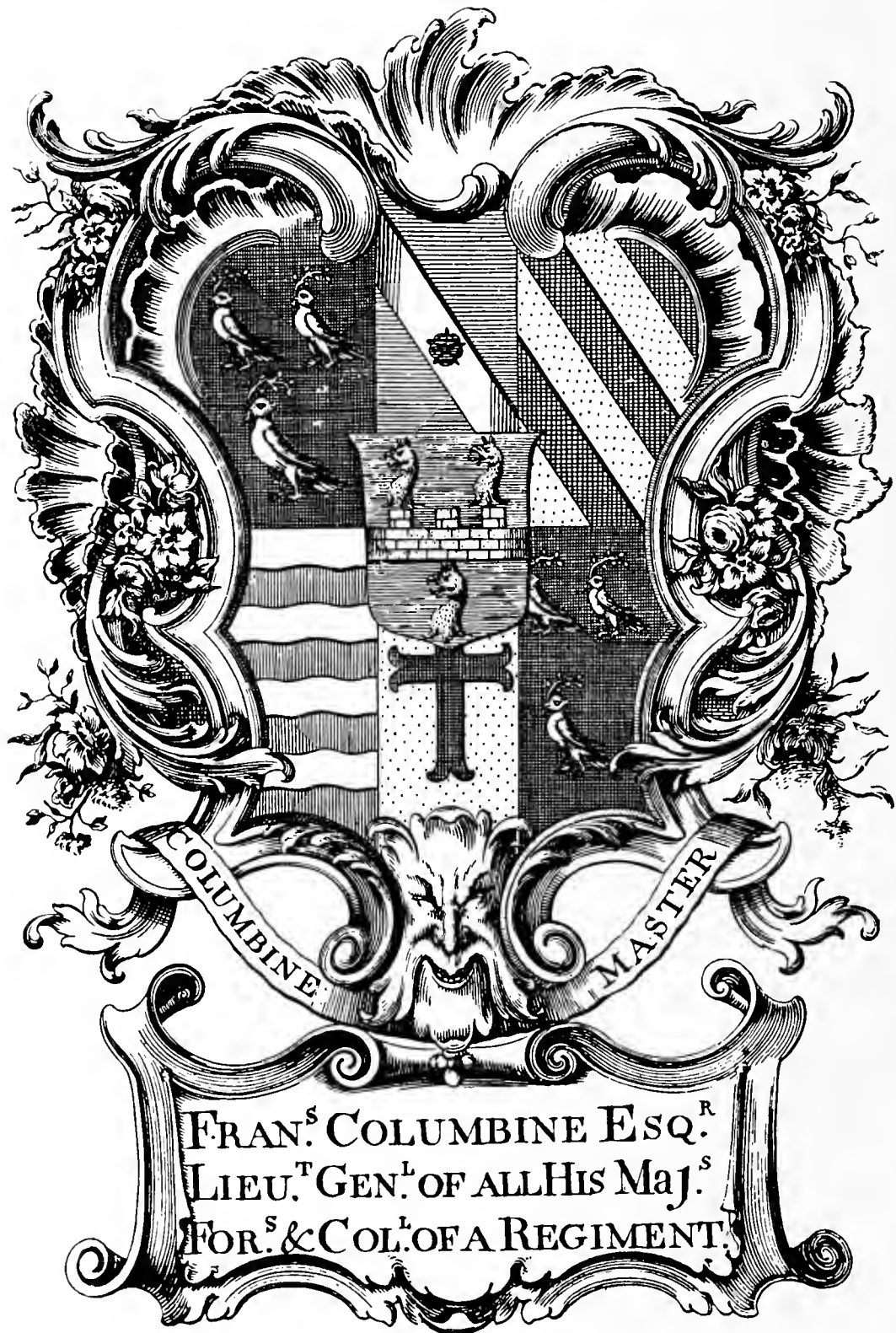
The first of these MSS. which demands attention, is a foolscap volume fully bound in rough brown calf, of handmade paper and containing about 100 pages, but only five pages have any writing on them.



The Hon^{ble}. Francis Columbine Esq^r. Lieu^t. Gen^l. of all
His Majesty's Forces. Collonel of a Regiment of Foot.



Ex Libris, 1708.



The title-page is inscribed:—

The
Book
of the
PROVINCIAL
GRAND
MASTER
of the Honourable and
Ancient Fraternity
of Free-Masons in the
Citty and County Palatine
of West Chester &c.

Device: a Pair of Compasses.
Motto: "Walke within Compas".

Dr. Chetwode Crawley said nothing seemed to be then known about the volume, but after later discoveries made at Grand Lodge, he thought it was to the advent of Col. Francis Columbine as Provincial Grand Master at Chester that the origin of "The Book" must be ascribed and that "The Book" may have been and very likely was drawn up in 1725.

The elaborate title-page of this volume is illuminated with colours, and every preparation was made for keeping "a most exact and regular account" of "Grand Masters"; but not one name is entered

The following is a complete transcript of the contents of the book, which is adorned with tastefully designed headpieces and initial letters pencilled in outline as though for illumination:—

COPY OF DEDICATION.

IN this *BOOK* is to be kept a most Exact and Regular Account, written by some Able and neat Pen-Man of the Succession of the **GRAND MASTERS**, their Deputy and their **GRAND-WARDENS**, as also the Masters and Wardens of the several Lodges, **ACKNOWLEDGING** his **AUTHORITY**.

"It is to be done in the manner they shall find the best, taking care to have their **ARMES** painted **QUARTER'D** with the **MASONS ARMS**, placing, that (as they will see in the Example set 'em) in the most Honoble. part, as they are honoured by the Said Society. In like manner shall they paint the Arm's of the Grand Wardens, differing from the Master by only Impailing them, and this to be done by some ingenious Brother for the good of ye said Society if any such to be found, if not, the succeeding Grand Master's, and Grand Wardens shall get it done, at their proper Cost and Charges, so that they may be remember'd by Posterity and their good deeds Recorded.

"In this Book shall also be Enter'd all such General Orders as shall be divis'd for the good of the whole-body by the Grand-Master or his Deputy assisted and assented to, by the several Masters and Wardens of the several Lodges in Town, who shall be deem'd as his standing Counsel, who for that Reason he shall Summons to attend him allowing a proper time for notice, because nothing shall be rashly undertaken, nor thought binding without their Consent and what is thus well consented and agreed on shall with all Conveniency be communicated to the Several Lodges in the Country in a most loving and Friendly manner that Amity and Brotherly love may be preserved.—

“ THIS BOOK is to be deliver'd by the GRAND-MASTER to his Successor, who is to keep it during his time, and at his going out to Deliver it to ye next, so on, and when fill'd the then GRAND-MASTER shall present the Society with a New one, to be kept and fill'd in like manner, Still preserving the Old ones to serve for Example, and preserve the RECORD, to which any BROTHER may have ADMISSION ”.

At end of Dedication is “ The Masons arms ”, with the motto: “ In God is all our trust ”.

Nothing further seems to have been discovered as to who was the author of this interesting MS., though a number of surmises have been made.

Early in 1935 the writer inspected at the Bodleian, the original “ Book of the Provincial Grand Master of West Chester ” (in which we are all keenly interested), and had some photographs taken.

At the same time privilege was obtained to see another MS. book labelled “ Regiment Book of Records ”. This second volume is a larger book 14 inches by 9 inches very elaborately and handsomely bound in dark blue morocco with gilt tooling on front cover—the design being repeated on the back cover—with six hubs on the spine or back of the book, and in the second compartment lettered on a brown or faded red label:—

REGIMENT
BOOK OF
RECORD

The Book is of folio postsize handmade paper, 129 leaves or 18 sections of paper, of which almost all are without writing. The paper has a watermark of a fleur-de-lys, with marble end-papers.

On the opening of the cover is a print of the larger or second armorial book-plate of Col. F. Columbine with the Arms of Mrs. Columbine on a shield of pretence. On the opposite end-paper is a book-plate of Brother the Rev^d. Dr. Richard Rawlinson.

The book seems to have been prepared for entries relating to the Tenth or North Lincolnshire Regiment of Foot, and contains a few coats of arms and the regimental insignia, neatly designed and painted. The volume is divided into sections by vellum labels projecting from the book, and lettered “ Officers ”, “ Court Mart. ”, “ Death ”, “ Quart. ”, etc.

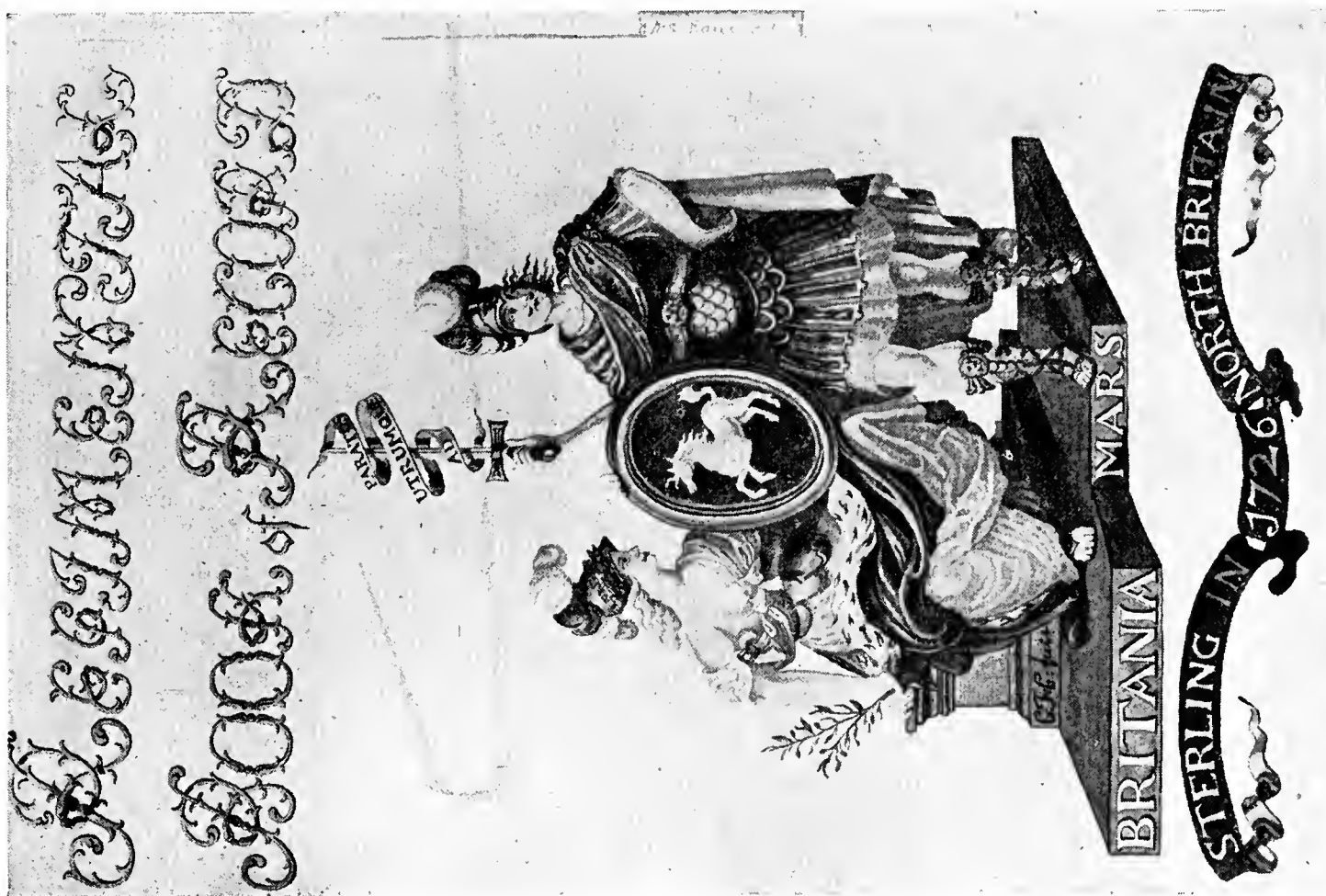
On the first (or title) page is the title

“ REGIMENTAL
BOOK OF RECORD: ”

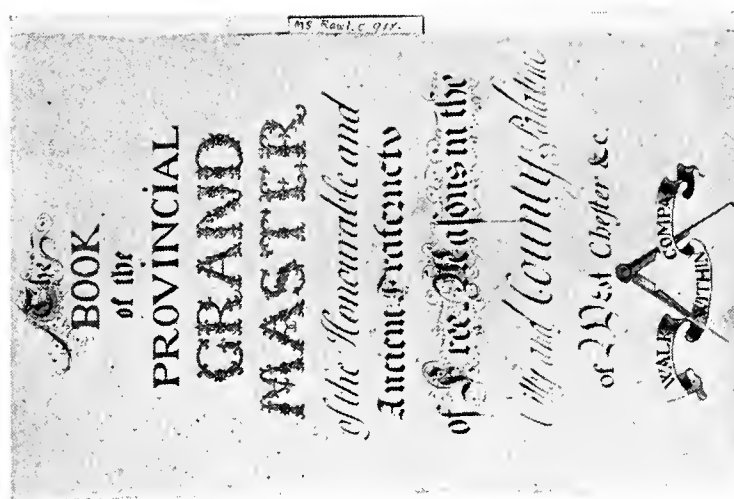
Beneath are representations—on the left, “ Britannia ” seated on a pedestal holding with the left hand a shield bearing the White Horse of Brunswick, and in the right hand an olive branch, on the lower plinth of the pedestal is marked “ C.F.C. fecit ”; on the right, “ Mars ” standing, holding erect, a sword with a scroll entwined and lettered “ Ad utrumque paratus ” (Prepared for either case). On the base of the platform the names “ Britania ” and “ Mars ”, and on a scroll below is inscribed “ Sterling in North Britain 1726 ”. The “ C.F.C. fecit ” stands for “ Colonel Francis Columbine made it ”. In 1726 the Tenth Regiment was in Scotland.

On another page is blazoned the achievement of Arms of King George I.

On the top of folio, or page, 29 is a tab index labelled “ Court Mart. ”, and on this page are illuminated the “ Arms ” of Brig. General Henry Gore, Colonel of the Regiment, 1715 to 1736; of Col. Francis Columbine, Lieut. Colonel; and of Scripio Duroure, Major. All surmounted by flags, with the



Regimental Book.—Title page.



Book of P.G.M.—Title page.

Book of Prov. G.M. of West Chester. B.M. Bodl. Rawl. MS. C 916.

*THIS Book is to be deliverid by the
Grand Master to his Successor, who is to keep it
during his time, and at his going out to Deliver it to y^e next.
So on, and when filled the then Grand Master
shall present the Society with a New one; to be kept and
filled in like manner, still preserving the Old ones to serve
for Example, and preserve the Record, to which any
Brother may have Admission*



End of Dedication in Book of Prov.G.Master.

motto "Vincō malum bono" and "Fiat justitia". It will be seen that the initials have been extended.

Because the "Regimental Book" has the second Bookplate of Col. Columbine pasted in the volume as a sign of ownership, the writer is prompted to suggest that the volume never went out of his possession until it passed into the ownership of Dr. R. Rawlinson after the sale of the effects of the Colonel. This also is probably the reason why the two MS. volumes are to be found in the same collection of Dr. Rawlinson.

Both volumes are disappointing and do not come up to expectation. There is nothing in either MS. by way of record,—in fact nothing to throw any light on the doings of either the Craft or the Regiment.

The two books must have been compiled by someone interested in and familiar with heraldry, just as the Colonel appears to have been, for example:—

- a. His heraldic bookplate, dated 1708.
- b. The directions in the Book of the P.G.M. "West Chester" for quartering and impaling the Arms of the G.M. and Wardens respectively (*circ.* 1725).
- c. The Arms designed and painted in the Regimental Book, 1726.
- d. Large book-plate after marriage to Miss Ann Master (*circ.* 1739).
- e. Small do.
- f. Coat of Arms carved on his grave-stone.

From the foregoing it may safely be assumed that Colonel Francis Columbine was the author of both "The Book of the Provincial Grand Master of West Chester" and of the "Regimental Book of Records", as the evidence points to a common origin.

A Short History of the Family of Columbine with which we are immediately concerned.

BRIGADIER GENERAL VENTRIS COLUMBINE appears to have been a native of Holland, and at an early age entered the Army, and acted as page to Sir William Temple in Holland. He gained a great reputation under the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands and was promoted to a commission and major in the regiment, which is now the Sixth Foot. He accompanied the Prince on the expedition to England in 1688, and was rewarded with the Brevet Colonelcy of the regiment in 1689. In 1690 he served under King William III. in Ireland, and in 1691 was wounded at the storming of Athlone. He subsequently exchanged to the First Foot Guards, and, while engaged in the memorable siege of the strong fortress of Namur, was promoted to the Colonelcy of the regiment in which he had formerly served. He was at the head of his regiment in 1702 in the occupation of Cadiz, and was engaged in the storming of Vigo. In January, 1703, he was made Brigadier General, and later in the same year died at sea.

By his Will dated 9th June 1700 he appointed his wife Barbara Colenbine, sole executrix thereof, to whom Probate was granted on 18th March, 1703/4, by the P.C.C. In his Will he mentions his sons: Francis and Ventriss Colenbine, and two daughters Mary and Johanna.

The second named son, Ventriss Columbine, became an Ensign in his father's Regiment, and in March, 1702, was promoted to the rank of Captain. He was killed in April, 1707, at the battle of Almanza in Spain; he was then a Captain in Col. Southwell's legion, and a bachelor. Administration of his

goods was granted on 28th May, 1708, by the P.C.C. to Francis Columbine, Esq., the brother, for the benefit and during the absence of Barbara Columbine, widow, the mother, then in parts beyond the seas.

The first-named son, Lieut. General Francis Columbine, was born about 1680, and was married on 14th October, 1721, at St. Peter's Church, Chester; the entry being "Honourable Collonel Francis Cullembine marr. to Margret Dodd, Widow". After her death he contracted a second marriage at Gibraltar with Ann, the only child of Streynsham Master, Esq., Judge Advocate and Commissary of the Muster at Gibraltar (1734-45), and his wife Ann, daughter of James Master, Esq., of Yates in Kent.

After an active military career the Lieut. General died on 16th Sept., 1746, aged 66, and was buried on the 18th Sept., 1746, in Hillingdon Churchyard, Middlesex, where there is a well-preserved altar-tombstone to his memory.

Mrs. Ann Columbine was baptized on 12th April, 1711, at Mereworth Church, Kent, as "of the Parish of Covent Gardens"; she died in Sept., 1771, in the Parish of Marylebone, Middlesex, and was buried on 2nd October, 1771, with her husband at Hillingdon. Administration of her estate was granted on 9th December, 1771, by the P.C.C. to Frances Lynd, the daughter and only child, wife of Charles Lynd, Esq. There is extant an engraving of the General and Mrs. Francis Columbine.

Frances, the daughter of the second marriage, married about October, 1768, the before-named Charles Lynd, Esq.

OTHER COLUMBINES.

The following additional particulars of some contemporaries of the surname variously spelled are given so as to assist future investigators in the identity of members of the Colonel's family.

LIEUT. COLONEL BENJAMIN COLUMBINE was in the army from 1697-1717. He married Mary Harrison, daughter of Edward Harrison of Morley, Co. Antrim, and his wife Joanna, daughter of Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Dromore. Of this marriage there was issue a daughter, Maryon Harrison, who was buried on 3rd June, 1762, at Hammersmith, Middlesex. Administration granted 29th March, 1763. She had married in Sept., 1736, Sir Christopher Hales, Bart., of Lincoln, afterwards of Fulham, Middlesex. He died 8th, and was buried 15th May, 1766, at Hammersmith.

After the death of Lieut. Col. B. Columbine, his widow, Mary Columbine, married as her second husband, Sir Cecil Wray, 11th Bart., of Rathcannon Castle, Co. Limerick, second son of Sir Drury Wray, Bart. The marriage took place on 30th Nov., 1721, at St. Martin's in the Fields, London. Sir Cecil Wray d.s.p on 9th and was buried 13th May, 1736, at Branston, Co. Lincoln, aged 57. Will dated 21st January, 1735/6, proved 21st May, 1736, at Lincoln. His widow died 18th Dec., 1745.

Sir Cecil Wray in 1730 was W.M. of the Lodge held at the Cross Keys in Henrietta Street (now the Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28). He was Deputy Grand Master to the Earl of Crauford, and so attended Grand Lodge.

MARY CULLENBINE of Woolwich, Co. Kent, widow. Administration granted 6 April, 1704, by the P.C.C. to the daughter Mary Vanner, *alias* Cullenbine, wife of George Vanner.

HENRY COLLUMBINE. 1692. April-August. Ensign and Lieut. in the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt's Regiment of Foot.

HENRY CULLINBINE. 6 April, 1703. Admon. by P.C.C., late "Locum tenentis in exercitu Regis at the City of Bruges" in Flanders, deceased; granted to Dorothy Cullinbine, the relict.

EDWARD COLUMBINE. 1703-1715. Ensign in Col. Rivers' Regiment of Foot (6th Royal Warwickshire). Prisoner at Almanza 1703, Capt. 1715, George I.

THOMAS COLUMBINE. 1724-5. Ensign to Capt. Robert Baynes in Col. Edmond Fielding's Regiment of Invalids (41st Foot) 1st Batt. The Welsh Regiment. According to G.L. Minute Book a Capt. Thomas Columbine was Master of the Lodge at the Crown at St. Giles' London, in 1730.

JOSEPH COLUMBINE. Timber merchant, died 25th June, 1769. (*Gents Mag.*, 369.)

GILES COLUMBINE of Hammersmith, died 30th December, 1782, aged 62. By his Will dated 26th Dec. 1782, he gave everything to his dear wife Sarah Elizabeth Columbine, and as sole executrix she proved it on 11th July, 1783, in P.C.C. (343. Cornwallis.)

VENTRIS COLUMBINE. Lieut. Navy, 9th Feb., 1788. (*European Mag.*, 146.)

THE FIRST RECORDED PROVINCIAL GRAND OFFICERS.

SAMUEL SMITH the earliest named Deputy Prov. G. Master 1724-1727, would appear to have been an attorney in Chester. He was married by license on 31st July, 1696, at Holy Trinity Church, Chester, to Mary James, who was probably the daughter of "Mr. Thomas James, brazier". The marriage license is dated 28th July, 1696, and Samuel Smith is described as of Handley (Hanley) Co. Stafford, gentleman, and Mary James as of the City of Chester, spinster.

The D.P.G.M. was descended from Sir Thomas Smith, Mayor of Chester (in 1515 and 1535). Sir Thomas married Katherine, daughter of Sir Andrew Brereton of Brereton, and died on 1st July, 1538. Their son, Sir Lawrence Smith, married in 1561, as his second wife, Jane, daughter of Sir Peter Warburton and widow of Sir William Brereton. Sir Lawrence was High Sheriff of Cheshire in 1553 and was four times Mayor of Chester between 1540 and 1570, and died in 1582.

"Captain Samuell Smyth, gent.", the father of the D.P.G.M., was admitted in 1651 a freeman of the City of Chester. The son, Samuel Smith, is later described as of Great Fenton, Hanley, Staffordshire, whence the family migrated to Elmhurst near Lichfield.

Authorities: Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1863, p. 1388. Compton Reade's *The Smith Family*, 1904, pp. 10, 104-5, 108, 115. Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 1882, vol. 3, 503. Cheshire and Staffordshire Parish Registers, &c., &c.

The first recorded Provincial Senior Grand Warden was Colonel Herbert Lawrence of Aldford, Cheshire.

After the death in August, 1723, of Richard Alport, without issue, he bought the Mansion of Overton, in Malpas Parish, Cheshire. His Will, made in 1729, contains a provision to complete the purchase of Overton Hall and demesne etc., and a Codicil, dated 23rd September, 1730, confirms the Will after the completion of the purchase of Overton Hall. It was witnessed by Samuel Smith, no doubt the D.P.G.M., a lawyer. Probate granted at Chester in 1735.

Authorities: Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 1882, vol. 2, p. 668. Armstrong's *F.M. in Cheshire*, 1901, pp. 6-7.

The earliest Provincial Junior Grand Warden on record was Captain (afterwards General) Hugh Warburton, the son and heir of Thomas Warburton

of Winnington Hall near Northwich, Cheshire, and Penrhyn Castle, Carnarvonshire. The General died on 26th August, 1771, at Bath.

The first appearance of Captain Hugh Warburton in the annals of Freemasonry would seem to be in the before-mentioned List of Members of the three Lodges in Chester as returned to Grand Lodge for 27th November, 1725, where his name is recorded in the first Minute Book of Grand Lodge, as Cap. Hugh Warburton, a Warden to Colonel Francis Columbine the first Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge which met at the "Sunn" in Chester.

It is not known whether the Chester Lodges elected a Provincial Grand Master in 1725, but from subsequent events we may again safely assume that they met as customary on St. John's Day in Winter, *i.e.*, 27th December, 1726, and in accordance with custom elected Captain Hugh Warburton as Provincial Grand Master, and re-elected Samuel Smith as D.P.G.M., and elected Roger Comberbach and John Coleclough as Provincial Grand Wardens.

The second occasion of the appearance of the name of Captain Hugh Warburton is recorded in the Minutes of Grand Lodge for 10th May, 1727, as Provincial Grand Master at Chester as one of the signatories of a letter dated 15th April, 1727, and written to Grand Lodge by the Freemasons at Chester of which the following are verbatim extracts from Grand Lodge Minute Book:—

"At a Quarterly Communication held on Wednesday the tenth day of May, 1727, at the Crown Tavern behind the Royall Exchange London

Present.

The Rt. Hon^{ble}. the Earl of Inchiquin G. Ma^r.

William Cowper Esq^r. D.G. Ma^r.

Alex^r. Chocke } Esq^{rs}. G. Wardens
W^m. Burdon }

"A L^re from the provincially Grand Ma^r., Deputy and Grand Wardens in Chester in answer to the Grand Ma^{rs}. L^re was read. Order'd

"That the said L^re be Entered at Large in the Grand book.

"After which M^r. Cowper the Deputy Grand Ma^{rs}. health was drank with thanks for the Visitation of the Lodges at Chester".

After the signatures to the Minutes by the G.M., D.G.M., and Wardens, follows:—

"A Copy of the L^re from Chester.

R^t. Worpⁿ. Grand Ma^r.

At the request and in the name of the whole ffraternity of Masons in this Province, we are to express to your Worpⁿ, as far as we are able the full sense we have of the great Honour done us by your Worpⁿ most affëccionate L^re and the kind Visitation of our Lodges by your most Acceptable Deputy, which likewise Brother Comberbach Provincial Grand Warden (the bearer hereof) is authorised and required to do in p'son.

Were it possible for Masonry to receive an Additional Lustre, it could never have Greater Advantages than under the Influence and protection of two such Eminent and industrious Ornaments of it.

Our whole ffraternity are resolved in Our Strenuous Endeavours to deserve such high Compliments by improving our Selves in all Mason-like accomplishments and by shewing our most Cheerful Obedience and Extensivë Gratitude to our Superiours in London and Westminster

For our Selves in particular we shall in our respective Stations Contribute our utmost Efforts towards the well Ordering and Advancement of Masonry amongst us, for which purpose we shall make the Great Application and other perfections in Masonry which are transcendent in your Worſp the most Conspicuous pattern of Our Imitation.

We are with hearts as full of Integrity as Masonry can inspire

My Lord

Your Worships

Most Obliged most Obedient and most faithful Brethren

H. Warburton, P.G.M.

Sam^l. Smith, D.P.G.M.

Roger Comberbach, P.G.W.

John Coleclough, P.G.W.

from the Castle and ffalcon
Lodge in Chester
15th Aprill 1727 "

Dr. James Anderson in his second edition of the *Constitutions* of 1738, page 190, contains the third reference to Captain Warburton, viz.:—

" 10 May, 1727.

Inchiquin, Grand Master, granted a Deputation to Hugh Warburton, Esq., to be Provincial Grand Master of North Wales at Chester "

Hugh Warburton was a gentleman of position and influence and descended from ancient families both in Cheshire and North Wales.

In those days many of the County gentry of Cheshire and North Wales and the adjoining Counties resided in Chester during the winter months.

On the return to London the Deputy Grand Master Cowper would report the result of his visit to the Brethren at Chester and their kind reception of the letter from the Grand Master, whereupon, to show his appreciation of the good offices of Captain Warburton, he (Lord Inchiquin) issued his Deputation to Captain Hugh Warburton as P.G.M. of North Wales at Chester.

Captain Warburton was thus the first Provincial Grand Master deputed as such by a Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, and so North Wales is thus the Premier Province so constituted.

Captain Warburton was also the first Provincial Grand Master at the same time over two Provinces, *i.e.*, Chester and North Wales.

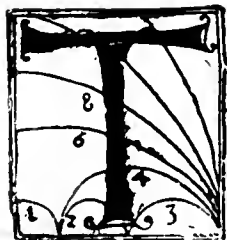
It will be observed that Dr. Anderson is very specific in his terms as to the date of the appointment of Captain Warburton as Provincial Grand Master of North Wales at Chester.

This is also the date of the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge at which the letter from Chester was read.

As a parallel instance it should be mentioned that on 24th June, 1727, Lord Inchiquin issued a Deputation to Sir Edward Mansell, Bart., as Provincial Grand Master of South Wales at Carmarthen. The Grand Lodge records show that Sir Edward Mansell was a very active mason and was often present at Grand Lodge and occupied the Grand Warden's chair.

For further biographical notes reference may be made to *The Early Provincial Grand Masters of Cheshire*, in the *Transactions of the Merseyside Association for Masonic Research*, vol. 15, pp. 102-110.

FRIDAY, 7th MAY, 1937.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. G. Elkington, P.G.D., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., I.P.M.; Lewis Edwards, P.A.G.R., as S.W.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, J.D.; Boris Ivanoff, I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. F. G. Warrington, Robt. A. Card, G. Harold Green, W. B. Gregar, E. S. Adhemar, E. F. Gleadow, H. E. Bower, Joseph C. da Costa, H. C. Johns, A. T. Gordin, H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., W. S. Gildersleeve, A. G. Harper, F. O. Dale, J. Coston Taylor, H. Johnson, W. H. Leese, S. R. Clarke, *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., C. M. Cox, L. G. Wearing, T. Lidstone Found, T. Addington Hall, E. Eyles, S. Daniel Rowe, N. F. Wills, Wilfrid Ellis, A. F. Cross, A. F. Hatten, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., G. W. South, O. H. Bell, G. Dossett, W. J. Mean, T. M. Scott, J. S. D. Thomas, A. W. R. Kendrick, Wm. N. Bacon, R. A. L. Harland, and H. D. Elkington.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. M. E. T. Burke, W.M., Bramahputra Lodge No. 3419; J. W. Moxon, S.D., Eden Park Lodge No. 5379; W. H. Giles, P.M., Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232; H. D. Montague, P.M., Beverley Lodge No. 5006; A. E. Wilkins, Southgate Lodge No. 1950; H. Heathcote-Williams Western Circuit Lodge No. 3154; H. M. Ridge, P.M., Radium Lodge No. 4031; and C. R. Cox, Clarence Lodge No. 2462.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Douglas Knoop, M.A., P.M.; B. Telepneff; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; *Major* C. C. Adams, P.G.D., J.D.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down; The Provincial Grand Master, Warwickshire; and Provincial Grand Secretary, Warwicks.

One Lodge and Forty Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. G. S. Collins, Leonard Denny, Ernest Brook, and C. C. Oldfield, Past Junior Grand Deacons; G. Leonard Elkington, Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; W. F. Dyer, Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; C. J. H. McRea, C. H. Bestow, Herbert Biggleston, J. H. Cookson, A. Hannah, Justly J. C. Rawlings, A. L. Simpson, Edward Smith and William P. Tapp, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; J. A. B. Townsend, T. H. Carter, A. V. Davis, H. W. Graves-Morris, W. R. Gregory, F. P. Reynolds, and George Turner, Past Grand Standard Bearers; J. Jardine, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; H. Love, Assistant Grand Pursuivant; and R. R. Hayne, Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. FENTON.

Copy of the portrait group. John Freeth and his circle.

From the Lodge Library.

The Sufferings of John Coustos.

Original Edition of 1746.

Sketchley Edition, 1790.

By Bro. H. A. HAINES.

Founder's Jewel, Old Wellingtonian Lodge, No. 3404.

Lodge Jewel; membership.

Presentation P. Dy. W.M.'s Jewel, Bro. Hermann A. Haines, 1914-15.

The two first have the name Heroum Filii, instead of the name on the Warrant, which is Old Wellingtonian and so appears on the third. Apparently this name was first of all chosen and the jewels were made, and then the name changed before the Warrant was issued.

Also P.M. Jewel, St. Georges Lodge, No. 370, of W.Bro. H. A. Haines, Master in 1908-09. Unusual design of St. George and the Dragon.

Presented to the Lodge.

By W.Bro. G. B. FLUKE.

Set of Certificates of Bro. Walter Holder.

Craft. G.L. Ireland.

R.A. Gd. Chapter, Ireland.

K.T. Gt. Priory, Ireland.

Mark Grand Chapter, Ireland.

Master of a Lodge, G.L. of Ireland.

By Bro. Col. JACOB HUGO TATSCH.

Printed blank; Lodge Warrant under the G.L. Mass. As used at commencement of XIX. Obsolete.

Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. WALLACE HEATON.

Photographs of the newly discovered text of the O.C. "The Huddleston". D.e. 49.

By Bro. W. G. HODGSON.

Two "Finch" publications, with plates. Masonic Key; and *Lectures, Laws and Ceremonies of the Holy R.A.*

Jewel. Circular; plain silver, no edging. Engraved on one side. Eskdale Kilwinning No. 134, and the S. and C.; on the other, an arch, with "Mount Horeb No. 69", and in centre, irradiated eye above, and G. in six-pointed star. A green ribbon to suspend it by.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Large framed Masonic Sampler.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. S. J. Fenton read the following paper:—

JAMES SKETCHLEY, OF BIRMINGHAM, AUCTIONEER, PRINTER, PUBLISHER AND FREEMASON.

BY BRO. S. J. FENTON.



JAMES SKETCHLEY was not only a Freemason of outstanding importance in the County and Province of Warwickshire from the year 1764 to 1795, but he was also a Birmingham Tradesman of some distinction.

He lived in an exciting period, the second half of the eighteenth century, an era of great development in the Metropolis of the Midlands. Birmingham and the surrounding district was then making rapid strides as a manufacturing centre. The period under review was one of practically continuous warfare. The Seven Years' War; the American War of Independence; War with France and Spain, the French Revolution and other troubles in which this country was involved, either directly or indirectly, favourably influenced the trade of Birmingham, where practically everything connected with Army equipment, from rifles to military buttons, was a constant and increasing source of employment to the local inhabitants.

The following figures showing the population will give some indication of the progress of the town:—

| | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1773 | 30,804 inhabitants | 7,369 houses |
| 1781 | 50,295 „ | 8,382 „ |
| 1791 | 73,650 „ | 12,681 „ |

To show the influence of war on local industry, I may be permitted to quote from a History of Warwickshire written two years after the battle of Waterloo, which informs us that Birmingham's 85,000 inhabitants were excusably disappointed that the Napoleonic Wars had come to an end. The City's numerous and extensive establishments kept ten thousand men, women (and it is to be feared, children) at work making "pikes, bayonets, musquets and implements of war". "The inhabitants", comments the author, "have been kept in a good humour with the war and have at various times manifested a degree of spirit in its support which is very natural".

Such were the local conditions when we first come across Sketchley's name in Birmingham. It is unknown whether he was born in the town or not; the name of Sketchley appears in the local Parish Registers in 1747, and there was a branch of a family with the same name in Nuneaton in 1741. The earliest definite reference to James Sketchley which I have so far been able to discover is the registration of the Baptism of Thomas Sketchley, son of James and Hannah Sketchley, at St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, on 27th February, 1753. What James Sketchley's age was in 1753, or how he previously earned a livelihood, remains unsolved.

In Joseph Hill's *The Bookmakers of Old Birmingham* (1907), p. 45, it states:—"In 1754, Thomas Warren, publisher, occupied the Auction Rooms at the bottom of Crooked Lane, previously Sketchley's", which indicates that he may have been established there prior to that date, but as no Christian name is given, it may possibly have been his father or some other relation.

On page 64 in the same book Hill introduces an account of Sketchley's career in relation to publishing and bookselling, with the following apt reflections:—

“Men with literary predilections (*circa* 1760) who followed other vocations were allured to embark in the trade [of publishing] and a small stock of type sufficed to produce a weekly or bi-weekly pamphlet to instruct and amuse the Ladies and Gentlemen to whom they appealed, and gave moreover notoriety, or at least prominence, to men of restricted culture but of much enterprize.

Of such men; the old Birmingham worthy, James Sketchley, may be cited as a most excellent example, and although but little is known of his earlier days, he was without doubt an auctioneer, a business in those days strangely allied with bookselling”.

As a printer and publisher, Sketchley showed some originality as a pioneer in the production of Town Directories, being responsible for the issue of the earliest directories of Birmingham, Bristol and Sheffield.

His first effort in this direction appears to have been the Birmingham Directory of 1763. Unfortunately there are no copies known of the first or second editions, but the following advertisement in the *London Chronicle* of July 14, 1763, informs us that “This day is published very necessary to all Merchants and Tradesmen who have dealings in the Town of Birmingham”:—

“an Alphabetical List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Tradesmen of the said Place, and Hamlet of Deritend adjoining. Likewise an Account of all the Stage-Coaches, Carriers by Posts, and Newsmen, with their Names, where they Inn, and the Days of their coming-in and going out, etc., as well as a List of the Persons in Public Offices”.

The price was One Shilling and copies were to be obtained from “J. Johnson opposite the Monument and W. Bristowe in St. Paul's Churchyard”.

This Directory must have been a success because a second edition was published within six months, and in 1767 it was enlarged to:—

“‘Sketchley's Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall Directory' Third Edition, with Great Improvements. Printed by and for J. Sketchley, Bookseller, Appraiser and Auctioneer at the Register Office, High Street and sold by Mr Johnson Bookseller opposite the Monument, London. 1767”.

(Price, One shilling and six pence.)

It is in this edition that we are able to obtain Sketchley's own advertisement of his various ramifications in the trade of Birmingham, which shows him to have been a veritable “Jack-of-all-Trades”. The text of it is as follows:—

At SKETCHLEY'S Public Repository and Register Office, at the sign of the HAND AND HAMMER, in the High Street, near the Welch Cross, BIRMINGHAM.

The following great variety of Business is transacted, and on the most easy terms. (*viz*).

MONEY LENT on the shortest Notice, upon Plate, Jewels, Watches, Stocks in Trade, Beds; Clocks or any other Movables, and this branch carried on by virtue of a License obtained the same as in London. And the Public may depend on the utmost Secrecy and Fidelity being observed (when required) for no one can reasonably doubt his being quite silent upon every occasion, and upon this head alone, he is sensible, must depend the good or bad success of his undertaking.

STATE LOTTERY TICKETS and SHARES sold on the best Terms.

Stocks in Trade, Husbandry, Household Furniture, Plate, Jewels, Pictures, Sculptures, Bronzes, Coins, Medals, Natural Rarities, Books, Manuscripts, Prints etc, bought or sold, either by Commission at his Repository, or by the Day in the common way of Sale, at other Peoples Houses.

Books both new and second hand, in various Languages, and in most branches of Polite Literature Sold. Books Bound in all the various sorts of Bindings and PRINTING NEATLY PERFORMED.

The Business of the REGISTER OFFICE for Masters and Servants, etc, carried on as usual; A Register, One Shilling—An Enquiry, Three Pence—but all enquiries answered in Writing, One Shilling.

This edition of the Directory also includes these items:—

PRINTERS. These ingenious Artists are of great Utility in a Land of Liberty, where the Freedom of the Press is enjoyed to its fullest Extent; and deserving of the greatest Encouragement. Their Offices are open for the reception of all proper Manuscripts, they also Print Hand Bills, Shop Bills, Catalogues etc.

The first name on the List is:—John Baskerville, Easy Row.

BOOKSELLERS.

Under this head we find:—

SKETCHLEY James. and Printer and Publisher of this Directory, Appraiser and Salesman at the Hand and Hammer, near Welch Cross.

SKETCHLEY Samuel. and stationer. top of Digbeth.

MISCELLANEOUS TRADES.

John Freeth. Poet. Park Street.

The popularity of the publication is evidenced by the issue of the Fourth Edition in 1770, entitled:—

SKETCHLEY & ADAMS Tradesman's True Guide, or an Universal Directory for the Towns of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley and the Manufacturing Villages in the neighbourhood of Birmingham. Printed by and for J. Sketchley at No. 61, O. Adams, No. 80 in High Street and S. Sketchley No. 74 in Bull Street.

Within a few years Sketchley had brought out a similar publication for Bristol, the title-page of which reads:—

SKETCHLEY'S BRISTOL DIRECTORY, including CLIFTON, BEDMINSTER and the Out-Parishes of St. James and St. Philip.
BRISTOL.

Printed by James Sketchley, Broker and Auctioneer. No. 27 Small Street and may be had of all the Booksellers.

(No Date. 1775 or 1776.)

On another page:—"Entered at Stationers Hall according to Act of Parliament".

Advertisement.

James Sketchley, Broker, Auctioneer, Appraiser and Printer
(continuing at length, similar to the advertisements in the Birmingham Directory.)

In the Directory itself:—

Sketchley, James. Printer, compiler of this Directory and Auctioneer. 27 top of Small Street.

There is at the end of the book:—

A Perpetual Almanack (commencing 1775)
Sketchley's Print. Bristol. Price 4d.

It is decorated with Cross, Anchor, Square and Compass.

The Preface to this Directory includes:—

It must be observed in this Work, a Number is affix'd to every House, for tho' they are not all Numbered, yet in most of the Principal Streets they are pretty general and it is presumed that its utility will more evidently appear in a short time, so as to induce others to follow the example.

The method he [the editor] has pursued, viz, The Exchange is made the Center and every street (a very few excepted) is begun at the end nearest the Center, on the left hand.

Advt. Oval Japan'd Plates, with Gold Numbers, for Houses.
at One Shilling Each

Sold by Sketchley

Whilst living in Bristol, Sketchley issued a Weekly Paper, with the following title:—

THE BEE AND SKETCHLEY'S WEEKLY ADVERTISER

No. 1. Price Only One Penny. 27th October 1777

It was really a very poor attempt at a weekly paper. In size, one and a half sheets, *i.e.*, 6 pages about 15in. by 9in. There was no local news and very few advertisements beyond those of James and Thomas Sketchley, which usually occupied the whole of the front page and often more. The only Bristol information appears to be a Catalogue of the Mayors of Bristol from 1216 to 1421. The Bristol Corporation Library has only 10 weekly issues, commencing 27 October and concluding 30 December, 1777. The paper is interesting, however, from several points of view. In introducing it "To the Public", he writes:—

I most honestly declare beforehand, (lest any one should meet with a disappointment,) that no letters will find a place here which relates either to public or private quarrels, enter into religious controversy, broach ill-natured scandal, intermeddle with family breaches, contain ill-bred reflections or tend to indecency of any sort; it shall be my sole endeavour to discountenance vice, to encourage virtue, to promote wit, humour, learning and good manners and morality and to recommend peace and universal charity. To these rules the Editor of this work will adhere to as close as possible.

Advertisements for THE BEE, will be received by the Printer, James Sketchley, Broker, Auctioneer and Appraiser at No. 23 Clare Street, at the same price as the Newspapers and his encouragers may depend upon a grateful return whenever in his power.

At this period he appears to have had some connection with BATH. He advertises the sale of State Lottery Tickets for 1777 "Obtainable from: James Sketchley, 23 Clare Street Bristol and at his Office, Union Passage, Bath".

As an Auctioneer, he sold Houses, Linen and Household effects and Horses, the latter for Thomas Sketchley, who advertises that he is establishing a "Repository for the Sale of Horses and Carriages at Union Passage, Bath".

It would be interesting to know whether T. Sketchley, of Bath, in 1777, is the same person as T. Sketchley, of Hull, with whom James issued the Sheffield Directory in 1775.

In inducing the public to advertise in the "Bee" for Servants, he states:—

Under this head will be inserted the name, place of abode, qualifications, age, whether married or single, if had small pox, what place last lived at, and how long, and when left it and the reason why and every other particular of their characters and by whom to be given.

But I have been unable to find one single response, perhaps the small pox kept possible clients away.

The paper does not contain any reference to Freemasonry, and its general appearance and contents cannot be compared with his earlier venture, the *Birmingham Register and Entertaining Museum* of 1764, to which I shall refer later.

He also published in Bristol, undated, but probably in 1775:—

A | Descriptive | Catalogue | of the several | Splendid Pieces | of |
Mechanism | and | Jewellery | in Mr Cox's Museum | now Exhibit-
ing in the Coopers Hall | No 41 King Street, Bristol.

Growing Arts adorn Empire.

Labor et Ingenium.

BRISTOL.

Printed by James Sketchley, Broker and Auctioneer, No 27 Small Street, where Tickets may be had.

It is only a small pamphlet, 24 pages ($4\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$), containing some details of an exhibition of elaborate working models, mostly with musical boxes attached. They included: A Chariot, Asiatic Temple, Elephant, Gothic Temple Peacock, etc.

Published in Bristol in 1775 we find:—

SKETCHLEY'S SHEFFIELD DIRECTORY, including the Manufacturing Villages in the Neighbourhood.

BRISTOL.

J. SKETCHLEY of BRISTOL and T. SKETCHLEY of HULL. Many years Regular Sworn and Licenced Brokers, Auctioneers and Appraisers.

Printed by the Author and Sold by Mr Wilkie, St Paul's Church-Yard, London; and by Booksellers in Sheffield, Birmingham and Elsewhere.

No date is given, but it was probably in the early part of 1775, as it contains a List of Public Officials appointed in 1774.

This is a particularly interesting specimen of an early Trade Directory on account of the Trade Mark of each Manufacturer being placed against the makers of Cutlery and Filemakers, and for the benefit of the Local Manufacturers there is also included "A List of London Merchants" and a "List of the London Bankers", these two additions being more voluminous than the Sheffield Directory itself, and these are "Printed by James Sketchley at the COOPERS HALL PRESS. BRISTOL". This Directory contains a very early reference to the Britannia Lodge, now No. 139, Sheffield, showing that Sketchley continued his interest in Freemasonry whilst away from Birmingham, although I have not been able to trace any of his Masonic activities either in Bristol or Sheffield. The reference is as follows:—

p. 43. Peach, Samuel. Inn Holder. Rose & Crown. Market Place.

N.B. At this house is held a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, No. 277, every Second Friday in the Month. Also Post Chaises to Lett.

Sketchley's first big Venture as a Publisher appears to have been in May, 1764, when he issued the first Birmingham Published Magazine under the title of:—

The Birmingham Register or Entertaining Museum;
Price Two Pence Half Penny per Week.

It lived about two years, was modelled upon the *Gentleman's Magazine* and contained very little news of local interest, but he used it occasionally for Masonic advertisements with reference to lodges of which he was a member; and in this connection there is an advertisement of particular importance appearing in the issue of 21st June, 1764, referring to the early days of St. Paul's Lodge (now No. 43), showing that it was a combination of two Lodges, No. 124 Antient and No. 64 Modern.

Local advertisements, mainly in connection with his own business as an Auctioneer and as the proprietor of the "Universal Register Office", show the varied character of the transactions, for which he invited advertisements on the following terms:—"A Registry, 1/-, An Enquiry, 3d., but all enquiries answered in writing 1/-". For instance (April 27, 1761):—

To the Men of Sense: Wanted, for two young Ladies, whose Persons are

———Amiable, straight and free
From natural or chance Deformity,

two agreeable partners for Life, Men of Integrity and Worth, between the Ages of 24 and 30; if in Trade will be most agreeable. They are Ladies about the same age, with very handsome Fortunes, and whose Characters will bear the strictest Enquiry. None need apply but those that wish to be concerned, for none but Principles (*sic*) will be treated with.

whilst his Masonic knowledge probably influenced him to include the following as an item of local interest:—

1764. May 24.

On Friday last, the wife of Joseph Page, of Stoke near Coventry, was delivered of two boys and a girl, and baptized on Sunday last, by the names of Faith, Hope and Charity. The same woman had two at a birth the time before.

Between 1764 and 1774 his local activities were many, but his business as an auctioneer was important, as is shown by the many notices of his sales in the local paper, Aris's *Birmingham Gazette*, and his own paper, *The Birmingham Entertaining Register*, etc. There is one which stands out prominently, as showing the change of times and methods in 160 odd years of Birmingham life:—

BIRMINGHAM CHRONICLE & WARWICKSHIRE JOURNAL.
December 6 1770.

FOR SALE by INCH OF CANDLE. by J SKETCHLEY, at his PUBLIC REPOSITORY, 61 in the High Street, this afternoon, the sixth of December, inst, to begin punctually at FOUR O/Clock in the afternoon. Sundry Shares in the BIRMINGHAM CANAL NAVIGATION. The Shares will be put up at Sixty Pounds Premium. The sale to begin exactly at the time above intimated to four or more bidders.

In 1763 he describes himself as a "Sworn Appraiser, Auctioneer, and Salesman", and another advertisement states:—

J. Sketchley sells by Commission or otherwise, on the most reasonable terms, Estates, Stock-in-Trade, household furniture, Books, Pictures, and Curiosities, etc. He humbly returns thanks to all those gentlemen, etc., who have employed him in the above branches and he will always do the utmost to merit their further encouragement.

His sales were sometimes held "In the Long Room at the Red Lion Digbeth", where the Lodge he originally belonged to, No. 71, held its meetings.

It is interesting to-day, in the age of motor cars, to find in several issues of his Magazine he was offering:—"A very neat Sedan Chair, complete and very Cheap", without apparently finding a ready buyer, and amongst the Situations Vacant in 1764 we note the call for "A Dairy Maid for a family in Town".

In 1764 he advertised that he Printed and Published the following, of which the Birmingham Reference Library is without a copy:—

The Servant Maid's best Companion or Housekeepers Guide, consisting of necessary cautious and prudent advice, such as if duly Observed cannot fail making them easy and happy in themselves, either in the capacity of a Servant or Mistress of a Family.

With directions for going to Market and forming a true judgement of all kinds of Provisions. Also a collection of the very best Receipts under the following heads, viz:—Roasting, Boiling, Frying, Baking, Fricasees, Puddings, Pies, Cheese Cakes, Custards, Pickles, Sausages, Brewing, etc, etc.

To which is added a collection of useful Family Receipts such as a Mistress and servant ought to be acquainted with.

The whole being entirely freed from those useless Obsolete Receipts which abound in other books of this kind and contains as much Useful Matter as any other at double the price.

PRICE SIX PENCE.

His removal from Birmingham to Bristol in 1773 is recorded in the Minute Book of his Lodge, in the simple words: "Gone out of Town", and we are unable to find any definite clue for this action. Prior to that date he appears to have been fairly busy according to the advertisements in various papers, and the first intimation of his departure is the following:—

Aris's Gazette. August 3, 1773.

The Partnership between Messrs Aris, Sketchley, Appleby and Swinney, being mutually dissolved, Notice is hereby given, that the Thursday's Paper, intitled, "The Birmingham Chronicle and Warwickshire Journal", lately published on their joint account, will in future be published and circulated by Miles Swinney alone; to whom all persons indebted to the said late Partnership in Trade, are required to pay their respective debts, and all Persons having any Claims or Demands on the said Trade, are desired forthwith to deliver an Account thereof to the said Miles Swinney, who is to receive to his own use all Debts owing to the said Trade, and is to discharge all Debts owing therefrom.

In the *Birmingham Directory* for the year 1787, by Charles Pye, we find:—

SKETCHLEY, JAMES. Auctioneer & Appraiser & Printer, 139 Moor St.
Takes Special Bail for the Counties of Leicester, Salop. Stafford,

Warwick and Worcester and the Cities of Coventry, Lichfield and Worcester, and the Counties of the same
and:—

H. J. W. SKETCHLEY, Schcol for young Ladies, at the same address.

(The latter entry *may* refer to Mrs. Sketchley, whose name was Hannah.)

SKETCHLEY AS A FREEMASON.

To the man in the street, or perhaps, more masonically speaking, to the uninstructed and popular world, who require but a passing reference to the subject, an outline of the History of Freemasonry will be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and similar works. But if a Freemason require more particular information, most Masonic and Public Libraries contain *The History of Freemasonry* by R. F. Gould. Books can easily be obtained on the history of the Craft in England, Scotland and Ireland, compiled by well known Masonic writers, and these works cover the general history of the past 200 years of Speculative Freemasonry.

The process has been further refined and developed in the publication of the Masonic Histories of Provinces, Districts and separate Lodges, but it is only when the science is brought down to the more exacting and microscopical examination of individual Freemasons, that we practically get to the bed-rock of Masonic History; and still leave an enormous field open for research workers, to search for origins and development of Rituals, from the operative or speculative standpoint, and the thousand and one other matters of Masonic interest.

It is in the biographies of individual Freemasons that we most frequently find fragments of Masonic History which have been omitted when compiling the more voluminous Provincial or Lodge Histories, and it is these personal touches which go so far to enlighten us in the doings of our forefathers in the Craft.

Masonic Biographies have been written of such pioneers as Anderson, Dermott, Dunckerley, Sayer and many others, and these are, in the main, connected with the organisation of the Grand Lodges with which they were connected; but there have been many men who devoted their energies to propagating the Craft in the Provinces and Overseas Districts in the early days of Freemasonry. These men had not the present-day facilities to enable them to keep in touch with headquarters (and quite possibly they had little desire to court interference from any authority higher than themselves), but they carried on Masonic Lodges to the best of their ability and to the satisfaction not only of their own consciences, but also of their brethren, at a period when there were no Provincial or District Grand Lodges. But for their personal enthusiasm and powers of organisation, it is probable that Freemasonry would have been very poorly supported and its growth considerably retarded in many districts which were distant from such Masonic headquarters as London and Dublin.

Men of this description can be traced in nearly every Province, and I could wish that each Province should cause to be recorded the history of its Pioneers and earliest Masons. On this occasion I propose to put before you such facts as I have been able to collect in reference to JAMES SKETCHLEY, a Warwickshire Freemason, of whom a contemporary brother¹ wrote:—

A man, who, if Masonry e'er was the theme,
His bosom with rapture would glow and expand,
No man ever known was more proud of the name.

¹ James Bisset, *Book of Manuscript Poems* in the Birmingham Corporation Ref. Library.

It is, in my opinion, doubtful whether, under the dual control of Grand Lodge and Provincial or District Grand Lodge, there is the opportunity for any Brother to-day to exercise the initiative and leadership which are distinctly evident in Sketchley's character, but it must be remembered that he lived in quite a different Masonic period.

When we first discover him as a local Freemason (1760) there were only TWO active Lodges in what is now the Province of Warwickshire. One in Birmingham (No. 71 Antients) and one in Coventry (No. 43 Antients), and the total number of brethren probably did not exceed Sixty. There may have been a Modern Lodge No. 149, constituted in 1736 at the King's Head, Birmingham (renumbered 134 in 1740 and 83 in 1755), but in 1760 it was most probably in a dormant condition. Grand Lodge has no returns of that period; and the Lodge was transferred to Wolverhampton, in the Province of Staffordshire, in 1766. It made one return to Grand Lodge under the date of January 1st, 1768, and was eventually erased in 1772.

At the zenith of his career (say, 1794), when he had been Provincial Grand Secretary for two years, the situation had greatly changed. There were at that date SIX Lodges, and they were all under the "Modern" Constitution:—

St. Albans Lodge, Birmingham; now extinct.
 St. Pauls Lodge, Birmingham; now No. 43.
 Trinity Lodge, Coventry; now No. 254.
 St. Johns Lodge, Henley-in-Arden; now extinct.
 Shakespeare Lodge, Stratford-on-Avon; now extinct.
 Apollo Lodge, Alcester; now No. 301.

It is interesting to note that the "Antient" Grand Lodge was no longer represented in the Province.

I think that it is doubtful whether the entire Masonic population of Warwickshire in 1794 exceeded 150 members. This may seem a very small number, and it is only an estimate, because definite figures are unobtainable; but when we look at the Official Returns made to Provincial Grand Lodge nearly sixty years later, we find that in 1852 there were only twelve Lodges in the Province with 359 members. Of these, five Lodges were in Birmingham with 201 members, and seven other Lodges spread over the County with a collective membership of 158. Compared with, in 1935, 105 Lodges with over 6,000 members.

It has been necessary to give these figures to show the state of Freemasonry locally during Sketchley's period. The comparative smallness of numbers, in my opinion, in no way belittles his importance in the Province, and we must be thankful that such a small body of enthusiasts has left such remarkable records for the enlightenment of their successors.

The earliest record of Freemasonry in Warwickshire is in 1728 (when a Lodge was held at The Woolpack in the Town of Warwick), which is over thirty years prior to Sketchley's appearance in 1760, and although the names are known of a few of the members of the Lodge in 1728, there is not one outstanding name. Doubtless they were good masons and carried out their duties to the best of their ability, but they have not left us any records of their activities, much to our regret.

A Portrait of Sketchley is still extant. It is recorded in Bisset's *Memoirs*¹ that:—

¹ *Memoirs of John Bisset.* Published by Frank Glover, Leamington, 1904.

“ In 1790, a party of gentlemen gave thirty guineas to a Prussian artist¹ to take off their likenesses in a social group. The picture to devolve on the last survivor ”.

This Painting is now at Aston Hall, Birmingham, and is the property of the Birmingham Corporation, and is described as “ Birmingham Men of the Last Century ” and also as “ John Freeth and his Circle ”.

It consisted of a portrait group of twelve gentlemen, of whom Sketchley is one. (See Appendix A.) There was also a portrait specially painted for St. Paul's Lodge, which has unfortunately disappeared. Under date Decr. 7, 1792, the Minutes record:—

The thanks of the Lodge was unanimously voted to be presented to Bro. Jas. Millar for the honour he has conferred on us, by presenting it with the portrait of Bro. Sketchley, and that the thanks of the Assembly be given to Bro. Sketchley for his unvaried and indefatigable exertions for the good of masonry in general and the duties of this Lodge in particular and for sitting for his portrait.

To this is added the footnote:—

Resolved unanimously that a handsome Gilt frame be provided for the said portrait of our worthy Brother Sketchley adorned with all the emblematic ornaments of Masonry.

This presentation took place only a few months after Sketchley's appointment as the first Provincial Grand Secretary of the Province, of which fact doubtless his Lodge was very proud..

When the History of St. Paul's Lodge was published in 1903, the Authors, commenting on the above Minute, briefly added, in parenthesis:—“ (This Portrait cannot now be traced) ”. There is no record of when it was lost, but it probably disappeared before 1839, as there is a list of the Lodge property at that date, and it is not recorded therein. It may have been burnt in the fire which destroyed some of the Lodge property in 1822.

Considering the nearness of the date 1792 to the date when the painting by Eckstein was made, 1790, which contains Sketchley's Portrait in the group of “ John Freeth and his Circle ”, it is quite possible that Eckstein painted the portrait of Sketchley presented to his Lodge by Brother Miller, because it is known that Eckstein was practising in Birmingham in 1792.

A Portrait, bearing the following inscription, roughly painted on the back of the canvas:—

James Sketchley of Birmingham.
Painted by John Eckstein, 1792

is now in possession of St. Paul's Lodge, having been presented to the Lodge in 1929, but the portrait itself bears the following inscription:—

Jonah Child, Pinxt.
Dudley, 1821

which date is at least thirty years after the date of the presentation of the portrait as recorded in the Minutes of the Lodge, and incidentally about twenty years after Sketchley's death, and it is very doubtful whether it is a portrait of Sketchley.

¹Johann Eckstein, a German Modeller and Painter. Studied at the Royal Academy in London, where he spent the greater part of his life. He stayed some time in Potsdam and was practising in Birmingham in 1792. He painted “ The Soldiers Return ” and “ A Family Gathering ”. He died in London in or soon after 1798.—(Bryan's *Directory of Painters and Engravers*, vol. ii., 1903.)

(Jonah Child painted and signed the tracing boards belonging to the Harmonic Lodge No. 252, Dudley. There are two paintings by him in the Municipal Art Gallery at Dudley. He was alive in 1830.)

James Sketchley has been previously referred to in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxix., by Bro. T. M. Carter, in a particularly interesting paper on "St. John's Lodge No. 538, Henley-in-Arden, 1791-1811", but I regret that Bro. Carter's references in many instances were taken from *The Early Records of St. Paul's Lodge No. 43*, published in 1903, which book—with all due deference to its compilers, Bros. Joseph & Boocock, and also to Bro. W. J. Hughan, who wrote its introduction—is unfortunately not entirely reliable.

The earliest reference to James Sketchley as a Freemason is to be found in Grand Lodge Library, London, in the Returns made to the "Antient" Grand Lodge on 4th March, 1760. by Lodge No. 71, then meeting at the "George", Birmingham.

This list contains the names of James Sketchley, Edward Ruston and Thomas Evans (the latter two will be referred to later), and as his name does not appear in the list of members in the previous list of the same Lodge, dated 6th December, 1758, it is probably safe to assume that he was either initiated in, or joined, the Lodge between those dates. Records regarding this Lodge are very scarce, but there is one, an advertisement in Sketchley's *Birmingham Register and Entertaining Museum* of 21st June, 1764, which informs us that:—

The Fraternity of Freemasons belonging to Lodge No. 71 held at Widow Harris's at the Red Lion, Digbeth, will hold their Feast of St. John's, on Tuesday the 26th inst, at the said house, where any visiting Brethren will be kindly received.

By order of the Master.

J.S. Secretary.

There is not in the list of members another name to which the initials "J.S." would correspond, so we may speculate that at that date he was Secretary of No. 71.

During Sketchley's connection with Lodge No. 71, it is apparent that some difficulties arose in the Lodge, and we now refer to the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" (G.L. Library, London), under the date of December 7, 1763.

Extract from Minute Book of the Athol or "Antient" Grand Lodge:—

Grand Lodge. Dec. 7, 1763, held at Bells Tavern, London.

Heard a letter from some Brethren in Birmingham praying that some Eminent Member of the Grand Lodge might be appointed to go to Birmingham in order to hear and determine divers matters relative to the Craft etc.

Unanimously agreed That our Trusty & well beloved Brother Laurence Dermott, Esqr. our Grand Secretary shall be properly warranted & Impowered To Call and Congregate a General Lodge of the Masons residing in and adjacent to the Town of Birmingham and then and there To examine hear and adjust and determine all and singular matters of Complaints disputes and Controversies now subsisting or depending in or between the Members of the Lodge No. 71 (or any other Brethren) in Birmingham aforesaid And that the Grand Lodge shall allow the said Grand Secretary the sum of three Guineas towards

defraying his journey or time of Transacting the said business.

N.B. the Grand Secretary had a proper Warrant sign'd and sealed by the Grand Master for transacting the foremention'd business at Birmingham.

Disbursed (among other items same date):—

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| To the G.S. Expenses to Birmingham | 3. | 3. | 0. |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----|

The Minutes close:—

Clos'd and Adjourn'd to St. John's day next.

Extract from Minute Book of the Athol or "Antient" Grand Lodge:—

The Gd. Secretary being just arrived from a Country Journey (on G.L. affairs) the General Accounts could not be adjusted.

The Warrant referred to above was No. 124.

(No. 123 was issued on 16th Oct., 1763, and No. 125 on 12th June, 1764.)

A new Lodge was formed before 27th December, 1763, and at its formation we learn from the Minutes of St. Paul's Lodge (now No. 43), 27.4.1764, which has definitely descended from No. 124, that The Worshipful Master (Edward Ruston) and the Senior Warden (James Sketchley) had been installed by the Grand Secretary, Laurence Dermott.

Under the same date as the foregoing Minute, we find recorded that Brother Sketchley was one of eight members who had provided the funds, which:—

had been laid out by different members for Procuring the Warrant, buying the Furniture and establishing the Lodge.

It is in this Minute that the statement is made:—

The Worshipful Master called this night a Lodge for the first time.

The Worshipful Master, Edward Ruston, attended the three first meetings, but Sketchley "acted as Master, in the absence of the Worshipful Master", at the fourth meeting, and he was also in the Chair at the fifth meeting, 15th June, 1764, when "Br. Brentnall was raised a Fellow Craft", presumably by Sketchley, who was not a W.Master, and so far as can be ascertained from the Minutes, there was not a Past Master present.

At the next meeting of the Lodge, St. John's Day, 25th June, 1764, James Sketchley was chosen Master of the Lodge and was "installed with proper ceremony". During his brief period of mastership, six months only (as was then the usual custom), he held seventeen meetings, and we find a few definitely original resolutions, such as:—

1764 June 25. It is this day agreed that no person shall be made a member of this Lodge that belongs to any other Lodge in Birmingham.

1764 July 6. It was debated whether the Tyler of the Lodge should continue to be a member, as he was also a member of No. 71, but it being thought by the majority that the nature of his office here, where we look'd upon him as a servant of the Lodge, it might be allowed him to be a member if he thinks proper.

As a matter of interest, the Tyler, Brother Thomas Evans, continued as Tyler of the Lodge until 1786, 22 years. When he retired, Brother Sketchley proposed

that Bro. Evans should be elected as a member of the Lodge, "free of all charges to him".¹

1764, December 21, we find "It was resolved to have a Treasurer", who was duly elected, and "he is to have the under drawer of the Pedestal at his disposal".

At the meeting at which Sketchley's successor in the Chair was appointed, December 27, 1764, it was resolved to hold on the last Friday in every month, a Lodge of Master Masons, collectively with the other Lodges in Birmingham, and these meetings were to be held by alternate Lodges:—

first Lodge No. 71, Second OUR LODGE No. 124 and lastly Lodge No. 64.

This is a very important Minute, because it shows co-operation between the "Antient" Lodges Nos. 71, 124 and 64.

In the Minutes of the Lodge, dated 6th July, 1764, we find an important entry, probably, in view of after events, of very much greater importance than the Brethren thought at the time:—

Brother Brookes from the Modern Lodge at Bath, visited this Lodge and gave a Modern Lecture.²

I think this goes further towards confirming, if necessary, that the Lodge was still holding allegiance to the "Antients", and the event of a "Modern Lecture" was an innovation which was specially recorded.

We also find that at one meeting (15:6:64) Brother Rock, a "Modern Master Mason", was proposed as a joining member and at the next meeting "The Lodge then proceeded to raise Br. Rock Antient Master Mason". (It was a common practice at that period to reobligate a brother joining from the Opposition Grand Lodge.)

Sketchley was undoubtedly a man with a streak of originality in his character, as we have seen from some of his advertisements, and he was probably popular, and I have reason to believe he was a great ritualist. He was probably

¹ During one of the periods when the attendances were small and the Lodge was not in a very prosperous condition, we find the following interesting, if very brief minute, showing that the Tyler of the Lodge actually occupied the Chair of the Lodge:—

1773. Nov. 19. Bro. Thomas Evans in the Chair in the absence of our Worshipful Master. Bro. Jas. Kidson, Sen. Warden. Bro. Jos. Dallaway, Jun. Warden. The Lodge was closed in Unity at high twelve.

Joseph Dallaway,
Secty.

From the fact that the Junior Warden was also Secretary it suggests that there was no business transacted although they seem to have kept in "unity" till "high twelve".

It will have been noted that this Brother came to the Lodge with Sketchley and Ruston from No. 71 Antients. He was by trade a tailor.

He appears to have been a very faithful servant, and although he had the opportunity of becoming a member of the Lodge in 1764, he apparently did not avail himself of the offer.

Twenty-two years later it was again proposed that he be elected a member of the Lodge, but there seems to have been some opposition and he was eventually put up for ballot and rejected:—

Oct. 6, 1786: Resolved unanimously that the thanks of this Lodge be given to Bro. Thos. Evans for the steady attention to his duties as Tyler during the space of 22 years. He was proposed to be elected as a member of the Lodge by Bro. Sketchley and seconded, and if successful shall be admitted free of any charge to him.

Oct. 20, 1786. Bro. Evans thro Bro. Vaux desired his name be withdrawn from the Ballot.

Feb. 16, 1787: T. Evans proposed by Bro. Murray on the terms of Oct. 6 last.

Mar. 2. Bro. Evans was Ballotted for and rejected.

² Brother Brookes was Member of No. 59 (now Royal Cumberland Lodge, Bath, No. 41).

one of the very few masons in Warwickshire who knew how to perform the ceremony of Consecration, although it is very doubtful whether there was any fixed ceremonial *ritual* at that date. He had previously had an opportunity to see a consecration performed by Laurence Dermott at the meeting when No. 124 was constituted, and he was personally installed as Senior Warden and he had been "installed with proper ceremony" in No. 124 Antients on 25th June, 1764. Doubtless he had had considerable Masonic experience, for he had been Secretary of No. 71 and was Master of 124 in 1764. I mention these dates to emphasise that his experience *had been gained under the "Antients"*, yet we are confronted with the astounding fact that on 10th October, 1765, *he actually constituted a "Modern" Lodge*, No. 342, at the Rose & Crown, Coventry; the Minutes of that Lodge¹ read:—

1765 October 10. This Lodge was constituted with the greatest decorum and Harmony, when Mr. Saml. Bruckfield was Instal'd Master, Mr. Wm. Allen, S.W., Mr. T. Gibbs, J.W., Mr. Wm. Whistler, Treasurer. The above was instal'd and the Lodge constituted by Mr. Sketchley of No. 64 at Birmingham and may it be the ardent wish of every Member thereof that the same Harmony may Continue Till Time is no more.

At the meeting of the Lodge of October 21st, 1765, it was resolved:—

That the thanks of the Lodge be returned to Bro. Sketchley for his attendance at the Installation.

It will have been noted that he is described as of No. 64 Lodge Birmingham, which must, of course, refer to No. 64 "Antients" for the simple reason that although his Lodge eventually had Warrant No. 64 from the "Moderns", that Warrant was not issued until fifteen months later, 2nd February, 1767.

This Warrant is now in Grand Lodge Library, London, having been returned by the Lodge in 1824, after receiving a Warrant of Confirmation dated 1822.

It is obvious, therefore, that Sketchley, as an "Antient" Mason, constituted a "Modern" Lodge, for which purpose he apparently held no authority whatever. This happened twenty-seven years before there was a Provincial Grand Lodge in Warwickshire (1792).

From this date (1767), therefore, we must look at James Sketchley from a new standpoint, that of a "Modern" and no longer an adherent to the "Antient" Grand Lodge.

Four days after the 1767 Warrant was dated, the first W.M. of the Lodge (E. Ruston) resigned, and the Minutes inform us:—

not from any particular dislike to any member of the said Lodge, but from his own Private reasons.

(May I suggest that the reason was that the Lodge had changed over to the "Moderns")—thus James Sketchley became senior member of the Lodge.

As the conversion of James Sketchley and his Lodge No. 124 from "Antients" to "Moderns" is a matter of importance, I shall have to re-introduce here Samuel Sketchley, to whom I have previously referred, and it will be remembered that he was described as a Bookseller and painter "in general", whatever that designation may imply.

On 5th July, 1767, he was proposed as a member of his brother's Lodge, which was then working under Warrant No. 64 "Modern", and on 19th July he was initiated. He became Junior Warden in 1769, Senior Warden in 1770, and in the same year is recorded as "Withdrawn". He visited the Lodge in 1778, when it is noted: "Visited by Brother Samuel Sketchley from London", and he visited the Lodge again in 1795.

¹ Now in possession of Trinity Lodge No. 254, Coventry.

We are indebted to Samuel Sketchley for recording the Minutes of his Lodge on 18th December, 1767, when he acted as Secretary "pro Tem".

At the previous meeting, December 4th, 1767, James Sketchley was in the Chair "in the absence of our Worshipful Master" and it was decided to ask "Rt Hon Lord Dudley & Ward to honour the Lodge with his presence on St. John's Day 28th inst."

In the Minutes of the 18th December, 1767, we find recorded by Samuel Sketchley:—

Coppy of an Letter in answer to that written by Brother Sketchley to the Rt Worshipfull and Honbl Lord Dudley and Ward,—

Himley Dec. 16 1767.

Sir,

As the brothers of the Birmingham Lodge have conformed with the rules of Masonry and acknowledged ye Grand Master it would give me great pleasure to attend them on St Johns day, if it was in my power, but being engaged to go from home ye day after Xmas day upon a visit, where I shall stay most of hollowdays,

Sir, Your Humbl Servt.

Dudley & Ward.¹

The foregoing letter was written ten months after the Lodge had received its Warrant No. 64 from the "Modern" Grand Lodge and it suggests that the Lodge had been doing something contrary to rules and regulations. What had they been doing?

I can only come to the conclusion that they had been working as a "Modern" Lodge without a Warrant from "Modern" Grand Lodge since the end of 1764 or early 1765, and in 1767 they applied for and obtained No. 64, which Warrant is definitely a new Warrant and does not give any suggestion that it is a Warrant of Confirmation. As previously mentioned, it is dated 2nd February, 1767, and in the accounts of the Lodge we find the following:—
1767 March 20. "Bro Hensler for money laid down for a new Warrant. £1.1.0".

There is further proof that there must have been some difficulties which even Grand Lodge wanted to get over, because the Warrant appoints Edward Ruston to be the first Master, James Sketchley to be Senior Warden and Samuel Freeth as Junior Warden, whereas at the actual date of the Warrant and since the election in the previous December (1766), Charles Stewart had been Master and Brothers Wallen and Laughner, Wardens.

Edward Ruston resigned from the Lodge four days after the Warrant had been signed in London, although his name appears on it as Master. Samuel Freeth is recorded as having "Abdicated 8th January 1767", one month previously, and he is named as Junior Warden; and James Sketchley, described as Senior Warden, was a Past Master of the Lodge and returned as such in the list sent to Grand Lodge in the previous December (1766).

There is such a mystery about this Warrant that one can only speculate on the cause of its issue. It appears to me that the Lodge having been working from 1765, according to the usages of the "Moderns", the "Modern" Grand Lodge gave them a Warrant which gives the same names as those which apparently appeared on their original "Antient" Warrant No. 124 of December, 1763, because it will be remembered that Ruston had been installed as Master and Sketchley as Senior Warden by Laurence Dermott and at the first meeting of the Lodge, 27th April, 1764, Samuel Freeth "was installed as J.W." What is

¹ Lord Dudley & Ward was Grand Master 1742/1744 and continued an active member of Grand Lodge up to the time of his death in 1774.

much more mysterious is the fact that they obtained Warrant No. 64, which would have been the correct number of the "Modern" Lodge No. 125, originally constituted in Birmingham in 1733, if it had continued to function during the intervening period.

From 1764 to 1773, Sketchley was a very regular attendant at the Lodge meetings and frequently acted as Master. The Lodge prospered during this period and had 29 members in 1768 according to the G.L. returns.

In the List of Members dated 27th December, 1773, we find James Sketchley struck off the list, with the remark "Gone out of Town" although his last recorded attendance was 17th January, 1774, and he does not reappear until 1784, except as a visitor on 21st November, 1777, when he signs, or is recorded, as "James Sketchley of St. John's", and again on 29th December, 1779.

As previously noted in the details of his business activities, the dissolution of partnership between Sketchley and other printers appeared in the local Press on August 3rd, 1773, and Birmingham loses Sketchley for eleven years.

He migrated to Bristol, where he continued his business as a printer until 1784.

I have had great assistance from Bro. Irving, Secretary of the Bristol Masonic Society, in endeavouring to trace our worthy Birmingham Brother, either as a visitor to or member of any Bristol Lodge during the period of his sojourn in that City, but so far without any information coming to light. It seems curious, knowing his Masonic activities during the preceeding thirteen years, that during the next eleven years we cannot find him in any way connected with Masonry; but I feel confident that eventually some trace of him will be found in connection with a Bristol Lodge, or possibly a Sheffield Lodge.

During his temporary absence from his Lodge, the Minutes of that Lodge give the impression that for some reason, possibly the absence of his leadership, the Lodge lost its popularity. In 1777 the attendance was bad, as will be noted from the fact that the Minutes of 7th November inform us that:—

Bro W. Walker in the Chair in the absence of our Worshipful Master,
Bro Alexander Walker S.W., Bro J. Westwood J.W. both Pro Tem
and the minutes are signed by J. Wickins, Secretary Pro Tem.

In 1780 the membership was 20, in 1781 10, and in 1782 13.

In 1784, however, the prodigal returns, and the Minutes read:—

November 18, 1784. Our worshipful P.M. Bro Vaux proposed Bro J. Sketchley be readmitted a member of this Lodge.

A fortnight later we find it recorded:—

December 3 1784. Bro James Sketchley balloted for and unanimously re-admitted a member of this Lodge

and from that date the Lodge took a new lease of life.

THE SECOND EPOCH.

From the latter part of 1784, when, on his return from Bristol, Sketchley again became an active member of St. Paul's Lodge, now No. 43 (which incidentally had applied to Grand Lodge for the name of "St. Paul's" only a few months prior to his return), until the last entry in the Lodge Minutes in which his name appears, October 20th, 1796, is a period of his Masonic career which necessitates a special chapter.

During these twelve years we find Sketchley at the zenith of his Masonic activities, followed by an almost sudden collapse, and finally a disappearance from Birmingham, leaving us somewhat uncertain regarding the final scenes in the life of one who must be acknowledged to have been a pioneer of Freemasonry in the Midlands.

In January, 1785, two months after his return to the Lodge, we find the first reference to the desire of the local brethren for the formation of a Provincial Grand Lodge in Warwickshire, and I do not think it unreasonable to suggest, in view of the ultimate result, that Sketchley was probably responsible for the initiation of the movement.

The Minutes of the meeting inform us that the Secretary was:—

directed to write to the Grand Secretary to know whether there is any Provincial Grand Master in the Warwickshire District

which brought the following reply, recorded in the Minutes of January 21st:—

The Lodge received a letter from the Grand Secretary in answer to Bro Secretary's letter, informing that there is not at present any appointment of a Provincial Grand Master for Warwickshire.

It is not necessary here to go into the details of the efforts made to create a joint province of Warwick, Worcester and Staffordshire, as there is nothing to suggest that Sketchley had any particular part in the matter; that is a matter of importance in the History of the Province of Warwickshire and St. Paul's Lodge. It is, however, worth recording that at this date, 1785, there were only two active "Modern" Lodges in the whole Province, St. Alban's Lodge No. 176 and St. Paul's Lodge, then No. 41, both in Birmingham, the Lodge which Sketchley had constituted in Coventry in 1765 having in the meantime expired. (Last meeting October, 1777, erased 1780, according to Lane. The Minutes of this Lodge, however, are in the possession of Trinity Lodge No. 254, Coventry.)

It will be noted in the Masonic Yearbook, issued by Grand Lodge, that in 1728, fifty-seven years previously, James Prescott is described as Provincial Grand Master of Warwickshire. This Brother apparently acted in that capacity for one day only, 28th April, 1728, for the purpose of constituting the first recorded Lodge in the County, at the Woolpack at Warwick, but there are no further accounts of his interest in the Province.

In 1928 the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire held some elaborate Bi-centenary Celebrations, but it was distinctly stated that it was the Bi-centenary of the formation of the first Lodge in the County, and not the Bi-centenary of the Provincial Grand Lodge. It was not until 1792 that Grand Lodge appointed Thomas Thompson, M.P. for Evesham (Worcestershire), as Provincial Grand Master for Warwickshire, which will be referred to later.

During 1786 Sketchley occupied the Chair of the Lodge on only one occasion, but twice as J.W. and four times as S.W. In 1787 he was Master (*pro tem.*) on ten occasions and twice acted as Warden. In 1788 he again acted as W.M. ten times and three times as S.W.

On 27th December, 1788, he was appointed Secretary of the Lodge, a position he held until October, 1793, nearly five years, and he does not appear to have again deputed for the Master until 1791. He definitely occupied that position no less than fourteen times that year; once in 1792 and twice in 1793. During the whole of this period he *wrote and signed* the Minutes of every meeting, and we are able to note certain alterations in the style of recording the Minutes which were innovations on the methods of previous secretaries. He

apparently endeavoured to avoid repetition and varied the statements accordingly, such as:—

“ The Lodge opened in Due Form ”. “ Lodge opened according to Antient usage ”. “ Lodge assembled and opened in Solemn Form ”. “ The Brethren assembled in ample form and in proper clothing ”. “ Mr C was proposed a candidate for the Royal Art ”. “ Candidates for the Honours of Masonry ”. “ The Lodge closed in Harmony with honours paid to the W.G.M.” “ Closed in Unity at High Twelve ”. “ The assembly closed in Harmony in due time ”. “ Proceeded to the Installation of Officers which was done in due form according to antient custom and they were obligated and homaged accordingly ”.

That he was generous to his Lodge is recorded on more than one occasion, and there are many votes of thanks for services rendered:—

1788 Jan. 4. The unanimous thanks of the Lodge was this night given to Bro Jas. Sketchley for his great care in taking an inventory of the property belonging to this Lodge.

1788 Jan. 18. Bro J. Sketchley this night generously offered to make a present to the Lodge of a very curious and valuable Triangle, Perfect ashlar and LUIS, but it being refused as a present, it was unanimously agreed to pay £2. 2. 0. as a small compensation for same, which was paid by the Treasurer.

1790 Sep. 24. Bro Sketchley this night presented the Lodge with the Sufferings of John Coustos, elegant bound in red Morrocco and Gilt in Masonic Stile, which the Master, Wardens and Brothers present were pleased to accept and the thanks of the Lodge was given him for the same.

(This actual volume is in the Warwickshire Masonic Library, and further particulars will be found in Appendix B.)

1791 Dec. 16. The thanks of the Lodge to our worthy Bro Sketchley for his unremitting attention to the duties of his office and for his kind assistance to the Lodge in taking upon him the Office of Master in the absence of our W.M. Bro James Timmins, whose various avocations in an extensive line of business rendered it impossible to attend the Lodge a great part of the present year.

1792 Mar. 2. Bro Sketchley this evening presented the Lodge with a Cabin Compass, which the Lodge received with the warmest thanks.

A somewhat unusual entry is:—

1788 Sep. 5. (James Sketchley in the Chair as W.M.)
The W.M. requested the Treasurer, Bro. Heaton to purchase a pair of money scales for the use of the Lodge.

(It is interesting to note that all the foregoing votes of thanks to Sketchley were recorded in the Minutes by Sketchley himself.)

The frequent absence of the Master on Lodge nights is shown by the following entry at the Installation meeting in 1789:—

Bro Heaton was appointed by the Worshipful, his Deputy Master and I find that this office was still effective and the W.M. appointed a Deputy Master in 1795 and 1798.

The names of Visitors to the Lodge were not very regularly recorded, but Sketchley did make note of two illustrious Brethren:—

1789 Sep. 3. The Lodge was called this evening in order to give Bro. Ruspini and some other Bros from London an opportunity of visiting our Lodge.

(On this occasion the only business recorded was the resignation of two members.)

1792 Feb. 2. This evening the celebrated Count Brouwlaske, The Polish Dwarf, did us the honour of a visit.

He also attended the Consecration of the St. John's Lodge at Henley in Arden with Sketchley on 4th June, 1792.

A few interesting Minutes, all of which were written and signed by Sketchley, may enable you to capture the atmosphere of a Masonic Lodge in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

St. John Festivals were held regularly twice a year, and it was customary to have a special Feast on each occasion, but the June meeting was frequently held at some hostelry in the suburbs. St. Paul's often met at Duddleston, which to-day must be considered as being almost in the City itself. These country meetings necessitated unusual hours. For instance:—

1789 June 24. Lodge of Emergency.

The brethren were summoned at 10 in the morning and assembled in due form.

Proceeded to ballot for Mr R. Shovel, who was proposed the night before [*Note.*—There are no Minutes of the night before.] who was introduced into the first degree.

The business closed in order and harmony.

The Lodge met again the same day at 2 o'clock to celebrate St John's Festival at Bro Wildy's at the Shakespeare Tavern. 25 Dinners @ 2/6 each.

1790 June 24. The brethren were ordered to attend at Vauxhall on the morning of June 25 at 8 o'clock to Pass and raise Bros Batty and Haynes.

1790 June 25. Lodge of Emergency.

The W.M. and proper officers attending in their places at 8 o/c passed and raised Bros Batty and Haynes and closed at Ten.

Signed. J.S.

The above is the entire Minute of the meeting, but the Lodge met again at 2 o'clock.

1790 June 25. The Brethren assembled at Bro Richards at Vauxhall by adjournment to Celebrate the Feast of St John the Baptist. Brethren assembled and the Lodge opened at 2 p.m. 34 present including visitors.

In June, 1790, appears the first reference I have found in the Minutes of his Lodge to Royal Arch Masonry:—

Our Worshipful Brother Jas Timmins in the Chair, all the rest of the officers in their places.

A Lecture on the first step.

This being the King's birthday, the officer of a Recruiting Party ordered (in compliment to the Lodge) the Drums and Fifes to play the Entered Apprentices Tune, he being himself one of the Craft and a R.A. and S Ex. Mason. •

1791 Oct. 21 shows that Sketchley, as secretary, had the power to distribute charity:—

Bro Sketchley visited a Bro in distress in Prison in Peck Lane, who was supposed to be a deserter, but proving himself a mason and declaring upon his word that as soon as he arrived in London he would prove himself no deserter, on which account Bro. Sketchley gave him 7/6 to releave him in his present unhappy situation (*sic*).

We now come to the year 1792, a year of great importance to James Sketchley and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire, but before describing the inauguration of the Provincial Grand Lodge it is necessary to record the constitution of St. John's Lodge No. 583 at Henley in Arden, a small town, about sixteen miles south of Birmingham. This Lodge worked under a Warrant dated October, 1791, and Sketchley paid at least three visits to Henley prior to its Consecration in order to instruct them in the manner of the proceedings. It was not so easy to do a journey of sixteen miles in 1792 as it is to-day, and that alone shows the enthusiasm which he displayed regarding the Craft. I take extracts from the Minute Book of that Lodge (now extinct):—

Lodge of Emergency. May 13, 1792 (Sunday).

Bro Sketchley from Birmingham brought and read the Order of Procession to Church, the Ceremony of Constitution and Consecration and Installation, which were unanimously approved and ordered that the Plan be adopted to the Installation on the 5th day of June aforementioned.

Lodge of Emergency. May 23rd, 1792.

A vote of thanks was proposed unanimously to Bros Toy, Sketchley and Bisset for their good intention and the honour they have done in paying us a visit this night.

The actual Consecration took place on 4th June, 1792, not June 5th as previously mentioned, and Sketchley, Toy and Bisset were present. It is evident that he could not have gone there in any official capacity, as he was not appointed Prov. Grand Secretary until 7th June, three days later.

(The History of St. John's Lodge No. 583 has been written by Bro. T. M. Carter and published in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxix., 1926.)

In the Minute Book of St. John's Lodge a year later appears the following interesting entry:—

1793 May 22. "It was agreed that the conduct of Br. Sketchley for various reasons assigned by Br. Bayliss is deserving of the censure of this Lodge, and a Vote of Censure was unanimously passed", but the latter words, "is deserving of, etc.", have been erased and the Minute amended to read: "Has been highly dissatisfactory and it was agreed that the Determination of this Lodge be made known to him".

What the trouble may have been does not appear, but it was possibly connected with money matters, as the Treasurer's Book of that date has an entry, "paid Br Sketchley £1. 5. 4".

However, it will be shown later that true Masonic spirit existed in St. John's Lodge, and in 1796 they subscribed money for his relief.

On June 1st, 1792, St. Paul's Lodge received a notification that Grand Lodge had appointed Thomas Thompson, M.P. for Evesham, in the County of Worcestershire, to be Provincial Grand Master for the Province of Warwickshire.

The new Provincial Grand Master summoned the Brethren of the Province to meet him under the banner of St. Paul's Lodge on June 7th, when he addressed the assembly in a

short but elegant speech on the nature and duties of his office and read the warrant for assembling and appointing Provincial Grand Officers.

The only record of this meeting, known to exist, appears in St. Paul's Minutes and we learn that seven officers were appointed, and of these five were members of the Senior Lodge in the Province, of which probably the most important, excepting the Deputy Grand Master, Bro. James Timmins, was JAMES SKETCHLEY, who became the FIRST PROVINCIAL GRAND SECRETARY OF WARWICKSHIRE, an office which he undoubtedly deserved.

From this date we must look at our Brother from a new standpoint. He did not in any way neglect his duties as Secretary of St. Paul's Lodge, but we have to trace his activities further afield, and in doing so we find that he kept in close touch with the Masonic developments in the area under his charge.

Three more Lodges soon came into existence. The Shakespeare Lodge No. 516, in 1793 (erased 1799), the Warrant for which was issued by the Prov. Grand Master Thomas Thompson and signed by James Sketchley as Prov. Grand Sec., and in the following year Sketchley signed the Warrant for the Apollo Lodge at Alcester (now No. 301),¹ and in 1795 he witnessed the Warrant of the St. Bartholomew's Lodge No. 547 at Tamworth, a Lodge which until recently had always been considered as belonging to the Province of Staffordshire, but the Petition and Warrant state that it was to be held in that part of the Town of Tamworth which is in the County of Warwickshire.²

Outside the Province of Warwickshire we trace Sketchley's influence in the cause of Freemasonry.

The History of Freemasonry in Staffordshire, A. Graham, 1892 (p. 124), states:—

Thanks were ordered to be sent to Bro Sketchley of Birmingham for his polite attention in sending the Salopian Lodge (No. 262 Shrewsbury) an account of the late Grand Procession at Hereford.

What these details were we do not know; they probably refer to the Palladian Lodge No. 120, Hereford, although it might have some reference to a Prov. Grand Lodge Meeting, as at that date Herefordshire had a Prov. Grand Lodge.

1793 Jan. 4, we find Sketchley suggesting something which approximates to what is known to-day as a "Ladies Night":—

Our Bro Sketchley made a motion for a dance upon an Economical plan, the same to be taken into consideration next Lodge night

but at the next meeting, 18th Jan., 1793, it states:—

The business of the dance stands over to the next Lodge night on account of there being only a few members present

and the matter is not referred to again.

On July 5th, 1793, for the first time we find Sketchley's absence from the Lodge recorded:—

Bro Seager, Sec, pro tem. Bro Sketchley being employed on other business.

¹ An interesting account of the Consecration of this Lodge, which took place on 30th July, 1794, appears in the *Freemasons' Magazine* of August, 1794.

² See *Freemason*, 22 June, 1935, "Early Freemasonry in Tamworth, Staffs.—A Correction", by S. J. Fenton.

We now come to an incident in his career which resulted in the loss of a certain amount of prestige in St. Paul's Lodge, but, as Provincial Grand Secretary, he does not appear to have taken much, if any, notice of the irregularity of the meeting. Why should he? The P.G.M. and Deputy were inactive locally, and he was practically the ruler of the Craft in Warwickshire.:—

Oct. 16, 1793: On emergency.

Bro. Sketchley in the Chair, Bro. Parker and Shovel in their situations. Bro. J. D. Sketchley, Treasurer, P.T., S. Seagar, Sec. P.T. proceeded to pass Brother Grant to the degree of a Fellow Craft and afterwards raised him to the honourable degree of a Master Mason.

Bro. Gooch proposd Thos Gooch, aged 21 years, Lieut of the 10th Regt. of Light Dragoons, as a candidate for the honors of Masonry, seconded by Bro. Sketchley.

The Assembly Closed in Order. Harmony and Brotherly love.

S. Seager. Sec. P.T.

(Lieut. John Grant, of the 40th Regt. of Foot, age 36, had been proposed "and he was entered on the first degree" on September 20th, 1793.)

At the next meeting, October 18th, 1793, two days after the meeting recorded in the previous Minutes, Lieut. Thos. Gooch, who is now described as "of his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales own Regiment of Light Dragoons, age 21", was "inducted" (initiated), but the Minutes continue:—

The Last Lodge of Emergency, being convened by the Secretary without issuing Summonses and without the direction of either the Master, the Deputy Master, or Senr. Warden, the Lodge unanimously resolved that such Lodge of Emergency was irregular and unconstitutional.

The Secretary having peremptorily refused to record the above Minute, after being repeatedly requested by the Master, The Master discharged him from such office.

H. Hadley, Sec. P.T.

This Emergency Meeting on Oct. 16, 1793, which James Sketchley apparently called without authority and for which he got his knuckles rapped pretty severely, is of great importance because it introduces a new member of the Sketchley family, in the person of J. D. Sketchley, who is recorded in the Minutes as "Treasurer, Pro Tem".

There does not appear to be any previous reference to this Brother in the Lodge Minutes, and I have been unable to trace him, before or after that date, in any way connected with St. Paul's Lodge, and it is improbable that he was a member. His attendance in office seems to have been entirely unconstitutional.

James Dicker Sketchley, however, is of some importance in the history of James Sketchley. He was the son of Thomas and Martha Sketchley, born 12th Sep., 1770, baptized at St. Philip's Church, Birmingham (and would therefore be twenty-three years of age at the time he attended the Lodge).

It is not improbable that he was a nephew of James Sketchley, and it is of particular interest that he died at Poughkeepsie, New York State, on 24th April, 1800, about a year prior to the death of James Sketchley, which is recorded to have taken place in the same town in August, 1801. (This will be referred to later.)

That they were intimately connected is shown in two advertisements appearing in *Aris's Gazette* of 15th Dec., 1794, wherein: "James Sketchley, Auctioneer, notifies the public of his removal from 42 Bull Street to 27 Colmore Row, and James Dicker Sketchley advertises that he has opened a Fish and Oyster Shop at 42, Bull Street".

The account of his death in the American newspaper, *Poughkeepsie Journal*, reads:—

Poughkeepsie Journal, Tues., Oct. 22, 1799:

Suddenly, yesterday morning, Ann SKETCHLEY, infant daughter of James D. Sketchley, one of the preceptors of the Dutchess Academy.

Poughkeepsie Journal, Tues., Apr. 29, 1800:

On Thursday last, 24.4.1800, of a broken heart occasioned by unmerited and cruel persecution, Mr. James Dicker SKETCHLEY, aged 29 years, 7 months, and 12 days. (Masonic funeral by Solomon's Lodge. A man of science, son, husband, father and brother. Survived by a widow and young children.)

I have included the notice regarding the death of his daughter to show that between 1794 and 1799 his avocation changed from a fish shop in the Old Country to that of a schoolmaster in the New World.

The next reference to James Sketchley in the Lodge Minutes is as follows:—

Jan. 17, 1794: Bro. Sketchley having declared that from the low state of his finances he could not pay his half-yearly subscription, it was agreed unanimously that he should be admitted as an Honorary Member, but not allowed to vote in the concerns of his Lodge.

A month later, however, we find him acting as Master of the Lodge:—

Feb. 21, 1794: Bro. Sketchley in the Chair.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first and second steps of Masonry

but it is definite that he was not acting as Secretary on Mar. 21, 1794, when J. Maudslay signs as Sec., though there is no record of his appointment, and he was made a M.M. only on Feb. 7, 1794.

At subsequent meetings he held office as follows:—1794, Apr. 6, S.W.; June 24, S.W.; July 4, W.M.; Aug. 1, J.W.; Sep. 5, W.M.; Oct. 17, S.W.; Nov., W.M.; Dec. 5, S.W.; Dec. 19, S.W.; 1795, Jan. 2, S.W.

The next Minute is:—

Jan. 5, 1795: Bro. Sketchley moved that Bro. Smith be raised to the degree of Mr. Mason next Lodge night which was seconded by Bro. Wake-man.

which was done (24.6.95), and we then have:—

Aug. 18, 1795: Bro. Sketchley in the Chair.

Meeting to select officers of the Lodge to attend consecration of the Lodge at Tamworth on Monday next.

Sep. 1795 (no date). No Lodge this evening there not being sufficient number of members. J. Maudslay. (Sec).

1795. Oct. 3. Bro. Sketchley P.G.S. and P.M. in the Chair; Oct. 16, do.; Nov. 6, S.W.; Nov. 20, S.W.; Dec. 4, S.W.

On 6th May, 1796, Sketchley occupied the Chair (*pro tem.*), and that occasion seems to have been his last attendance at the Lodge in which he had done so much for the benefit of Freemasonry.

SKETCHLEY'S MASONIC TOKENS.

These tokens have been a source of annoyance and interest to numismatists on account of the great variety of inscriptions which have been recorded on the edges of the tokens. They appear to have come into circulation about August, 1794, and from the number which appear in collections it is evident that the halfpenny ones were freely circulated. I have often wondered whether the issue of these was a failure to Sketchley from a financial point of view, because it is evident that just previous to the first notice of them in the Press his finances were not good. He was not in a position to pay the half-yearly subscription to his Lodge in the January of that year, and from that date his position seems to have got worse.

I need not make any detailed reference to these Tokens, because they have been dealt with very fully by Bro. Rev. H. Poole in his paper entitled *The Sketchley Masonic Tokens*, which appeared in *A.Q.C.*, xlv., page 320, but there is one particular variety which is both rare and interesting, the edge reading of which is:—

MASONIC TOKEN. J. SKETCHLEY. R.A. & P.G.S.
BIRMINGHAM. FECIT.

The Fortitude Chapter (now 43) was founded in 1783 and is now connected with St. Paul's Lodge, but it did not originate from that Lodge. The Chapter was constituted by Thomas Dunckerley and it is possible that Sketchley became a member of it on his return from Bristol. The following advt. shows Sketchley to have been Scribe E.:—

Aris's B'ham Gazette. July 1, 1793.

The Companions of the Chapter of Fortitude No. 33. Birmingham intend to hold their Annual Meeting at Companion Richards, Vauxhall on Wednesday, 3rd July, inst, where the Company of any Regular Companion will be esteemed a Favour.

By order of the Most Excellent,

J. SKETCHLEY. E.

Dinner on the Table at Two.

One more item of interest may be given. It is an extract from a letter written to the Grand Secretary on 4th Dec., 1795, in which he remits £5. 5 for the Warrant for St. Bartholomew's Lodge, Tamworth, No. 547. He concludes:—

I am much effected by the great loss the fraternity has sustained by the death of that great Luminary Mr Duncaley (*sic*) but hope he is happy in the presence of the Great Grand Master of the Universe and sincerely hope that you and I and all of us may meet him in his blessed abode above and

am Yours most sincerely.

J. SKETCHLEY. G.S.

Thomas Dunckerley was the P.G. Superintendent of Warwickshire and other Provinces.

In reference to Dunckerley and his connection with Sketchley and St. Paul's Lodge, it is somewhat pathetic to record that nearly twenty years later the Minute Book of that Lodge states:—

1801 Dec. 4. Thos Dunckerley, son of the late Bro Dunckerley, Provincial Grand Master for the Counties of Kent and Gloucester, etc, being on his way to Scotland and much distressed applied for relief from the Lodge and was complimented with 5/-.

(Thus St. Paul's Lodge relieved the grandson of a King of England. See *Life of Dunckerley*, Sadler.)

1796 Oct. 7. The Worshipful Master made an application to the Lodge for some relief for Bro Sketchley, P.M. and many years Secretary of this Lodge, and the sum to be given was postponed till next Lodge night.

1796 Oct. 20. It was unanimously agreed that Bro Sketchley should have 5 Gns. given him from the funds of the Lodge.

The latter entry is the last which appears in the Minute Book of St. Paul's Lodge in reference to James Sketchley, but we can follow him a few months later in the Minutes of St. John's Lodge at Henley-in-Arden, which Lodge it will be remembered he helped to Consecrate in 1792:—

1796 Dec. 27. A Motion being made by our Worshipful Master on accout of a letter received from our Bro. Sketchley informing us, that he being in great distress, a subscription was proposed by the Brothering present which amounted to one Pound four shillings which was deposited in the Treasurer's hands.

James Sketchley came into the Warwickshire Masonic world from some unknown source, he may have been a Birmingham man, but there is no definite information which has come to light on the subject.

Aris's Gazette of September 28, 1801, contains the following obituary notice:—

About six weeks ago at Pekipfy, New York, JAMES SKETCHLEY, late of this Town.

There is not any doubt that Poughkeepsie is the town referred to. I have endeavoured to trace our Brother in America, and the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of New York went to considerable trouble in searching Poughkeepsie Registers and Journals, but without success. I also communicated with some members of the Sketchley family still living in Brooklyn, and they made a search in the same direction, but the only satisfaction I could get from these friends was the details of the death of James Dicker Sketchley in 1800, previously referred to.

APPENDIX A.

JOHN FREETH AND HIS CIRCLE.

The description of this painting in the Birmingham Art Gallery Catalogue is as follows:—

John Freeth and his Circle.

Oil on canvas, 44×64½. Painted in Birmingham, 1792.

John Freeth (born in Birmingham, 1731; died, 1808), was a publican-poet, who kept a coffee-house, where the men of Birmingham met constantly to discuss the news. His regular visitors were known as the "Jacobin Club". Freeth began to write songs and catches about 1750, and continued to do so for more than thirty years. His first "poems" were printed by Baskerville in 1771.

The above represents the members of the Jacobin Club, known to the wits of the day as "The Twelve Apostles". They are seated round a table in Freeth's coffee house, the *Leicester Arms*, Bell Street. The names of the sitters from left to right are: James Murray, linen draper, known as "Cheap John", a member of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland; John Wilkes, cheese factor, a captain in the militia; Freeth, with a long clay pipe in his mouth; Richard



John Freeth and his Circle.
James Sketchley is standing at the back of the group, on the right.

Webster, brass founder; Jeremiah Vaux, surgeon; John Collard, hatter and tailor, author of "Essentials of Logic"; John Miles, patent lamp manufacturer; Samuel Toy, steel toy manufacturer, afterwards landlord of the Mitre Inn; James Bisset, who kept a bazaar and museum, was a writer of verse, and posed as a connoisseur of paintings and works of art; Joseph Fearon, tin merchant, and constable of the town for many years, and known as "Lord North", from his advocacy of the latter's principles in the American War; James Sketchley, auctioneer, and senior member of the Club; and Joseph Blunt, brazier.

The picture was paid for on the tontine principle, the last survivor of the twelve, who proved to be James Bisset, becoming its possessor. A contemporary inscription on the back of the canvas states that "This picture is the common property of the twelve following gentlemen represented on the reverse, to be disposed of at all times as a majority of them shall think proper, and to be the sole property of the survivor". Then follows a list of the names, and "This picture painted by John Eckstein, 1792".

Sketchley is at the back on the right, standing.

In the Birmingham Reference Library is a book of manuscript poems by James Bisset, from which what follows is an extract:—

The following Song was written, on a Picture of Portraits, painted by Eckstein and hung in Poet Freeth's Coffee Room. Gentlemen hereafter named. The Poet Freeth, Messrs. J. Murray, J. Wilkes, J. Vaux, J. Collard, R. Webster, J. Miles, S. Toy, J. Bisset, J. Sketchley, J. Blunt, J. Fearon.

Ye Coteries of Mirth and ye Lovers of Glee,
Who in Song or in Sentiment pass time away,
And whilst in the Chorus you may now join with me,
A tribute to Monus we'll every one pay.
That Gay Laughing God, who inspired at his Birth,
With Genuine Wit makes the Deities Roar,
Who now upon Earth, presides over Mirth
And assists me at present this Group to Explore.

Behold; whereon Canvas, the Artist so famed.
A Group of Twelve heads round a table has placed.
And the piece to complete. He the junto has framed
In Brass, as twas thought—there were some Brazen Fac'd.
Search England around—such a group I'll be bound
You no where will meet with, as those now on view.
Nay search the Globe round, there are none can be found
To match them I'm sure, Till the D . . . l has his due.

The first on the Right, who so solemn and grave
Seems over a Tankard just saying a grace
And twirling his thumbs, as a blessing he'd crave,
Is a hypocrite rank. You may swear by his face,
Such sanctified looks, all so sly and demure,
Obtain'd him respect—and some credit tis true
"Cheap John" he was called. Had they known him I'm sure
They'd have Nicknamed him after Old Shylock the Jew.

(Mr. Murray—a Mercer, was call'd "Cheap Jack".)

{ Linen Draper,
Moor St.,
Member of St.
Paul's Lodge.

Just over his head is a Cheesemonger Brave
 Who went for a Captaincy during the War.
 Who We'er told in an Action did Gallant behave
 And Escaped from all Perils. Sans a wound or a scar.
 A Mutiny once in a Workhouse broke out
 And the Paupers to rioting all seem'd inclined.
 Our Hero arrived, the ringleaders did route
 And subdued without Bloodshed, the Poor, Lane and Blind.

(Mr. Wilkes, now a Captain in the Leicestershire Militia.) { Cheesefactor,
 Carr's Lane.

Next is a Poet that's very well known
 By High and by Low, and by Travellers all.
 Who Composing and Singing New Songs of his own (Poet Freeth.)
 Induces them oft at his House for to call.
 At his back stands a man, tho the lines on his face
 Appear at first sight, rather harsh to the view,
 Like a nut that's enshrined in a rough outside Rhynd
 His heart like the Kernel, is solid and True.

(Mr. R. Webster.)

By his side we behold Doctor Politic Prate
 Who fond of declaiming, can scarce hold his tongue
 Who never was known to give up a debate.
 And no man could convince that he ever was wrong.
 Tho a Quaker to view, now clad in True Blue
 No more in the Mortar, the Pestel he'll clench
 Or Gally Pot wield. He now takes the Field
 And means for to Phisic and Glyster the French.

(Mr. Vaux, Surgeon, though a Quaker, was a Lieutenant in the Birmingham
 Association. Member of St. Paul's Lodge.)

The next all must own is a confident Elf
 Who sometimes is One thing and sometimes another.
 A Weathercock, changing as best suits himself
 In Politics wrangling and making a pother
 Latin, Hebrew and Greek, with ease he can speak
 With Logic so cram'd, that he's ready to choke.
 With ease at first sight, He'll prove wrong is right
 Or prove right is wrong, for the sake of a joke.

(Mr. Collard, Author of *The Epitome of Logic and Essentials of Logic.*)

In the Centre of all, is a man you'll agree
 The least we can say of—perhaps is the best. (Mr. J. Miles.)
 By his side stands a *Friend*, who for Fun, Joy and Glee
 Unrivall'd, has long in this Room bore the test.
 If trade it is bad, it affects him tis true
 If good, then he cheerfull and happy will sing
 If all, it goes right. On a Saturday Night
 Sam then is as great as a Prince or a King.

(Mr. Sam Toy. Member of St. Albans Lodge.)

The next I'll pass o'er, for he's so like myself
To say ought against him, I'll never agree
If I prais'd him, you'd say, what a confident Elf
And what fobiles he has they all centre on me
But his friends for to please, every moment he'd seize
To sing them a song, he would seldom refuse
To promote Joy and Glee, still happy was he
Or with Novelty teeming, his friends he'd amuse.

(Mr. James Bisset. Member of St. Albans Lodge.)

In the background of all, behold where he stands,
A man, who if Masonry e'er was the theme
His Bosom with Rapture would glow and expand
No man ever known, was so proud of the name.
In the corner below, is a man we all know
With his pipe in his mouth, puffing sorrow away
Who oft with a Song, good fellows among
Has cheer'd all their Hearts and made happy the Day.

(J. Sketchley. Member
of St. Paul's Lodge.)

(J. Blunt, senr.)

The last in the Group, yet not least I must own
A figure upstanding, we next may behold
A man (tho to Fortune) To fame quite unknown
Seems telling a tale, which has often been told
To make him look big, see he cocks up his wig
With Politic Stories, his neighbours he'll bore
Should an argument fail, He'll not turn tail
But substitute noise, and like Stentor, he'll roar.

(Mr. Joseph Fearon, late Constable of Birmingham and Commissioner of the
Court of Requests. President at the Poets, etc., etc.)

J. Bisset. 1798.

APPENDIX B.

MASONIC PUBLICATIONS.

1764. May 10th.

The Birmingham Register and Entertaining Museum.
Weekly. Price 2½ pence.

This paper was published by Sketchley and contains occasional Masonic
Advertisements (referred to herein), but otherwise is not of Masonic interest.

1765. March 14. Advertisement in *The Birmingham Register and Entertaining
Museum*:—

This day is Published, price six pence.

LOVE TO GOD AND MAN INSEPARABLE.

A Sermon preached before a respectable Antient and Honourable
Society of Free and Accepted Masons on the 27th day of December
1764, being the Feast of St John the Evangelist, at St John's
Chapel, Birmingham, and published at the request of the Brotherhood.
By the Rev. Theo Davenport.

To which is added, A Charge delivered at the Constitution of the Lodge No. 130, at the Swan at Wolverhampton, on Tuesday the 30th October 1764, by the Right Worshipful Grand Master, pro tempore.

Printed for the Author, by J. Sketchley.

Note.—No. 130, Antients. Warrant 6th October, 1764. Swan Inn, High Green, Wolverhampton. Lapsed 1765. (Warrant re-issued, 30th July, 1805, to St. Martin's Lodge, Burslem, now No. 98.) (Lane.)

1786. Advertisement in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 26 June, 1786:—

<□┐┐┐┐

This day is published, Price Two Shillings, Neatly printed in small Octavo, and on fine Paper, with a beautiful Copperplate Frontispiece, The Freemason's Repository: Containing a Selection of many valuable Letters (Particularly one from his Highness Omdit ul Omrah Behander, Son of the Nabob of Arcot, to his Grace the Duke of Manchester, Grand Master, on his being initiated into the illustrious and benevolent Society of Freemasons) Discourses, Charges, Orders, Rules, Regulations, &c. &c. belonging to the Craft. To which is added, at the particular Request of many Brothers, a Variety of Anthems, Odes, Songs, Poems, Prologues, Toasts, Sentiments, and other valuable pieces. Also the secret Way of Writing used among the Brethren. of great Use; the Key to which will given to any known Brother, either personally, or by letter, Post-Paid, to the Printer and Publisher, J. Sketchley, Auctioneer, in Moor-street; of Messrs. Pearson and Rollason, of Mr. Swinney, and of Messrs. Piercy and Jones, all of Birmingham; of Mr. Smart, and Miss Cresswell, in Wolverhampton, and of all Booksellers.



Bookplate of B.P.

See *A.Q.C.*, xviii., p. 27.

The book itself has the title-page as follows:—

THE FREEMASONS REPOSITORY, containing a selection of Valuable Discourses, Charges, Rules, Orders, Aphorisms and Letters, particularly one from Omid ul Omrah Bahauder, son of the Nabob of Arcot, and other pieces belonging to the Fraternity, to which is added a variety of Anthems, Odes, Songs, Poems, Prologues, Sentiments,

Toasts, Mottoes etc, also, the Secret way of Writing used among Masons.

Birmingham. Printed by and for J Sketchley, Auctioneer, No. 139 Moor Street, and may be had of all Booksellers in this and the neighbouring Towns.

DEDICATION.

To the Right Worshipful Masters, Worshipful Past Masters, Officers and Brethren of the Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons held at Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Dudley. Also those in the City of Quebec in Canada, and all my other Brethren wherever dispersed on the face of the Whole Earth. This Collection of Masonic Letters Odes, etc, Is, with the greatest respect, Inscribed by their most affectionate Brother,
J. Sketchley.

There is one possible solution to the reference to Quebec, to be found in the List of Subscribers to his Publication of *Coustos*, where we note the name of Mr. Thomas Sketchley, Quebec.

The above-mentioned book, *The Freemasons Repository*, is referred to by the Rev. Dr. G. Oliver, in his *Revelations of a "Square"* (1855 ed., page 346), in the following terms:—

“The Chairman then commended Bro. Sketchley of Birmingham, for having done a good service to Masonry, by the publication of a useful little Manual, *The Freemasons Repository*, which contains some valuable little papers”.

1789-1790.

THE UNPARALLELED SUFFERINGS OF JOHN COUSTOS, who nine times underwent The Most Cruel Tortures ever invented by Man and sentenced to the Galley, four years by Command of the Inquisitors at Lisbon in order to extort from him the Secrets of Freemasonry, from whence, He was released by the Gracious Interposition of his late Majesty King George II. Enriched with sculptures, representing Coustos's sufferings designed by Boitard and the other prints by a Capital Artist. To this work is subjoined Many valuable pieces of Masonry and a complete list of Regular Chapters.

Birmingham. Printed by M Swinney for J Sketchley, Publisher and Auctioneer. Sold also by Mess. Wilkie, London and all other Booksellers.

(No date.)

The Book also includes.

A Sermon preached at the Constitution of the Harmonic Lodge in Dudley, in the County of Worcestershire, August 31st, 1784. Before a large body of Free and Accepted Masons from the neighbouring Lodges. By their since deceased respected Brother, The Rev. John Hodgetts.

An Oration, delivered by a Brother at the St Paul's Lodge. No 41, Birmingham, occasioned by the death of Mr James Rollason,¹ A member of the above, on the 17th of April 1789.

¹ St. Paul's Lodge, No. 43, Minutes (from History of the Lodge published 1903):—

1789. April 13. It was agreed that all visiting Brethren, resident in Birmingham do pay an equal share in the Expense on Solemn Lodges called together on the death of a Brother, as in the present case of Bro Jas Rollason, deceased.

1789. April 17. Ordered that the Lodge remain all the next morning in order to gratify such Ladies and Gentlemen as may wish to see it in a Mourning State.

An Oration, delivered at the dedication of Free Mason's Hall at the City of Quebec, in Canada, by Alexander Spark. A.M. Published at the request of the Society.

List of Regular Chapters of the Royal Arch, held under Constitutions from the Grand and Royal Chapter, with their Places and time of Meeting.

(55 Chapters named.)

Officers of the Grand Lodge of the Royal Arch. A.L. 5792. A.D. 1788.

Another edition exactly similar with title-page re-set, but same wording, except:—

Birmingham. Printed by M. Swinney. for J Sketchley. Publisher and Auctioneer: and sold in London by C. Stalker No 4 Stationers Court; H Turpin, No 18 near Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn; and by all other booksellers in Town and Country. M.DCCXC.
(Price Five Shillings sewed).

The dated edition is recorded in Wolfstieg 14566.

The particular Volume of this publication in the Warwickshire Masonic Library is of special interest on account of the fact that it is beautifully bound and on the cover in Gilt Lettering states:—

The Gift of
Brother James Sketchley
to
St. Paul's Lodge.
No. 41.

The particularly interesting point about this publication is the fact that it contains an engraving of John Coustos, designed by Samuel Sketchley. Coustos was born about 1700, and it is very doubtful whether he was alive in 1789/90, or whether Samuel Sketchley had even seen him. But the origin of the portrait is sufficiently obvious. Sketchley has simply copied the head from the Frontispiece to the original edition of 1744, but varied the costume and given Coustos a Master's collar. He probably does depict the Masonic costume of the period when the artist was a member of St. Paul's Lodge, 1767/70. It will be noted that the picture shows a Trestle Board, Globe and Coat of Arms of the "Moderns", which Coat of Arms is similarly depicted on the Banner of St. Paul's Lodge, which was painted about the same time as the book was published, and quite possibly also designed by Samuel Sketchley, who, as previously mentioned, is described as "Bookseller and Painter in General".

The original work consisted of five parts. Part I. detailed the actual sufferings of Coustos. The remaining four parts consisted of a history of the Inquisition. In this edition, the first part of the original is reprinted in full. But the remainder is reproduced only with considerable omissions, the last hundred pages being represented by one brief paragraph. But the text of the Bull *In Eminenti* is now given, in translation.

1793. (Date unknown.) (Small Pamphlet of 24 pages.)

MASONRY. Hymns, Odes, Songs, written and compiled for the Masonic Jubilee at the Shakespeare Lodge, Stratford on Avon, on Tuesday 4th June 1793.

Brother Sketchley's Print. Birmingham.

Price six pence.

The only known copy is at The Shakespeare Birthplace Museum, Stratford on Avon, and is referred to in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxix., pp. 4 to 60.

Note.—Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, 10th Edition, 1801, p. 326:—

On 4th June 1793, The Shakespeare Lodge at Stratford on Avon was opened and dedicated in Solemn form, in the presence of a numerous assembly of brethren from different Lodges, under the direction of Mr James Timmins. D.P.G.M. for Warwick.

1795. 21 December. (Advertisement in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*).

This day is Published, Price 6d.

MASONRY UNIVERSAL. a discourse delivered in the New Church, New York, before the Grand Lodge of the State of New York and the Brethren of that Fraternity assembled in General Communication on the Festival of John the Baptist, June 24 1795, by Samuel Miller. A.M. Grand Chaplain.

Birmingham reprinted by the request of many Brethren, by Brother James Sketchley, of whom it may be had.

(No address given. No copy in the Birmingham Corporation Reference Library.)

APPENDIX C.

MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES.

Poll Book of the Borough of TAMWORTH.

Lord John Sackville, Charles Coates, Esq. John Floyer, Esq. 6th May 1741 for two Burgers to serve in the ensuing Parliament for the said Boro of Tamworth.

John Sketchley's name appears, voting for Cotes and Floyer.

Birmingham Reference Library 328827.

Birmingham Chronicle and Warwickshire Journal has advertisements of Sketchley & Son on Oct. 17, 1771, and again on Feb. 25, 1773.

Aris's Gazette, 28 February, 1791.

Yesterday morning, (27.2.1791) after long and painful illness Mrs Sketchley, wife of Mr Sketchley Auctioneer of this Town.

Aris's Gazette, 28 September, 1801.

About six weeks ago at Pekipfy. New York, JAMES SKETCHLEY, late of this Town.

(also *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1801, vol. 71, Part 2, page 1153.)

Aris's Gazette, 19 May, 1794.

To be sold by J SKETCHLEY at his Public Sale Room, Top of Peck Lane. etc.

Catalogues of the Auctioneer 42 Bull Street.

Aris's Gazette, 15 December, 1794.

OYSTERS.

Fresh Oysters *every Tuesday*, Friday and Saturday at 5/6 per barrel JAMES DICKER SKETCHLEY, near the Quakers Meeting, No 42 Bull Street Birmingham, respectfully informs the public that he receives fresh supplies of Sea Fish most days of the Week. Dried and Salt Herrings, Pickled Salmon and Salt Cod. Royal Fish Sauce, Indian Soy, Best Mushroom Catsup etc. A Collection of the Best Fruits the Season affords.

Large Allowances to Country Dealers.

N.B. The Only Shop in Town that has fresh Oysters three times a Week.

For the Accommodation of Gentlemen, Mr Sketchley has set apart a room on purpose for the Use of such as wish to eat their Oysters on the Spot.

Aris's Gazette, 15 December, 1794.

J. SKETCHLEY, Auctioneer and Appraiser, begs leave to inform his friends and the Public, that he is removed from Bull Street to No. 27 Colmore Row near the New Church, Birmingham, where he intends to carry on the above business, etc.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Fenton for his interesting paper on the proposition of Bro. L. Edwards, seconded by Bro. F. W. Golby; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. K. Firminger, E. Eyles, C. M. Cox, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. FENTON replied to the discussion, and added:—

In compiling this paper, research has been necessary in many directions and I desire to express my thanks to the Wor. Masters and Secretaries of James Sketchley's Lodge, St. Paul's Lodge now No. 43, the senior Lodge in Warwickshire, for the facilities they have afforded me, in placing at my disposal their original Minute Books, from which I have made many extracts.

To Mr. H. M. Cashmore, the Birmingham City Librarian, and his Staff, I also owe a debt of gratitude for their help in obtaining books and papers printed by Sketchley from the Libraries at Bristol and Sheffield, and to Mr. Benjamin Walker, for allowing me the privilege of taking notes from his paper on "Birmingham Directories", which has since been printed in the *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, vol. lviii.

My object in writing the paper has been to point out how one individual Mason can influence the destinies of a Province and to suggest that there were pioneers in other Provinces and research, before it is too late, regarding their work, might produce some hitherto unrecorded items of interesting local history.

REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY IN NEW JERSEY.

By David McGregor, 1937.



THE first Masonic Lodge in New Jersey was warranted at Newark in 1761 by George Harrison, Provincial Grand Master in New York. The Grand Lodge of New Jersey was founded in 1787, mainly on the initiative of an Ulsterman, Dr. William McKissack, at that time Master of the only active Lodge in the state, Baskingridge No. 10. Prior to this period the Lodges in New Jersey had been under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, and consequently had imbibed the true Antient tradition. As an independent Masonic jurisdiction New Jersey has thus had an existence of over a century and a half; and this volume records its development.

Most of the story is rightly devoted to the early days, and the historian has been indefatigable in bringing together all that the too scanty documents have to tell us about the Lodges and prominent Masons. He deserves the thanks of every student.

One fact noted here is of general interest to the Craft. The Grand Lodge of New Jersey has under its jurisdiction the only Lodge, Alpha No. 116, which admits people of colour and is regarded as regular in the Masonic jurisdictions of the U.S.A. The Lodge was warranted in 1871 and the grantees proceeded to initiate negroes from the very beginning. This procedure was challenged, and after some dissension and discussion the right of the Lodge to do so was upheld. In process of time all the white men severed their connexion with the Lodge, which now consists solely of coloured members, and is a living embodiment of the humane declaration of the Grand Lodge made in 1900: "This Grand Lodge does and always has recognised the eligibility of any man to be made a Mason who possessed the proper qualifications, without regard to his race or colour". Another feature of the book that delighted me is the beautiful reproduction of a famous picture by Brother John Ward Dunsmore representing a meeting held by Freemasons in Morristown on St. John's Day in Winter, 1779, a convention which was held to discuss proposals for the better government of the Craft in North America. The War of Independence was at its height, the issue still in the balance, every patriot of military age was in arms; yet many of these citizen soldiers found time to meet as Masons and take counsel how best to promote the principles we honour as a brotherhood. Here in this stirring picture they are to be seen, in Lodge assembled, most of them in uniform, Brethren still remembered with pride and gratitude, including the greatest of all, the "Cincinnatus of the West". Do not let us disparage this picture because it is the production of a later day; for it commemorates an unwritten tradition of the Craft, the readiness to call on to labour under the very shadow of the wings of the Angel of Death—sword in one hand, trowel in the other—and may the memory of that tradition, I could almost call it a duty, never wholly perish from amongst us, whatever enemy rise up against us, whatever his strength of arm.

London, September, 1939.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

MASONIC SYMBOLISM.

By Charles Clyde Hunt (Lauranee Press Co., Iowa, U.S.A., 1939.)

This book by the Grand Secretary of Iowa is, as our late Brother J. Hugo Tatsch points out in a foreword, partly a reprint of material that had appeared before in another form, and partly new. In the *ipsissima verba* of that

distinguished Masonic scholar, whose recent death we all deplore, the Fraternity has here "an unexcelled group of essays simple and readable in presentation, dependable in basic research, thorough in scholarship, sound in interpretation, and inspiring in the moral tone which animates the fundamental doctrines".

I venture to say that most of us will find this book pleasant reading, for it reflects a wide range of study, a cultured mind, a gift of happy phrase, and that intensity of purpose which comes from a life devoted to the service of the Craft. The information it contains is not fettered to the chain of any pre-conceived theory; the evidence is presented in all good faith, and we are often left to draw our own conclusions from it. Constructive criticism can add little, unless it be to append the famous dictum of Goblet d'Alviella about the study of the subject with which this book is chiefly concerned: "There is nothing so indestructible as a symbol; but nothing is capable of so many interpretations".

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

NOTE.



LELANDE-LOCKE MS.—On page 120 of vol. xlix., *A.Q.C.*, Bro. Bullamore asks for some 'real reason' for rejecting the authenticity of the so-called *Leland-Locke MS.* I, therefore, send you the enclosed, copied from *The Bodleian* of 1920. This date is so long past that the item may well be unknown to many of your readers:—

Copied from *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 1920, No. 26, page 27.

The Philologist and the Forger.

The forger of literary and historical documents has many pitfalls in his path, but his fall is often long delayed.

A forgery which, for many years, has found supporters is a Masonic treatise entitled "Certayne Questyons Concernynge Maconrye; wryttenne by Kynge Henrye the Sixthe and copyed by me Johan Leylande" published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1753, xxiii., 417, but stated to be a reprint of "Ein Brief von Herrn Johann Locke (Frankfurt, 1748)" where it is said that the original manuscript is in the Bodleian Library. No such Manuscript, however, has ever come to light and Mr. Madan, in his *Summary Catalogue*, refers to it as mythical.

A student of Masonry recently made a special visit to Oxford with a view to a further search for the treatise, because, as he said, "Masonically, this is by no means as universally regarded as spurious as it was some thirty or so years ago".

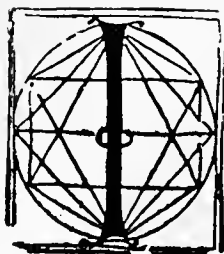
Needless to say, he did not succeed where Mr. Madan had failed, but the authenticity of the text was still undecided.

It occurred to a member of the staff to ask Mr. Onions, one of the editors of *The New English Dictionary*, whether the treatise could possibly have been written as early as 1460. Mr. Onions kindly examined the text, and, almost immediately, denounced it as spurious on account of the occurrence of the word 'kymistrye' (chemistry) which is not found in English until about the year 1600, and which did not become common until the middle of the seventeenth century. By such slips is the forger betrayed.

S.G.

N. W. J. HAYDON.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Dr. William Clement Achard, of Zurich, Switzerland. Bro. Achard was a member of Modestia cum Libertate Lodge. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

Hugh Baird, of Bulawayo, on the 4th February, 1936. Bro. Baird was P.M. of Lodge No. 86 (N.C.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1906.

Frederick John Baldwin, of St. Helens, Lancs., on the 24th June, 1937, aged 51 years. Bro. Baldwin held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.Pt., Worcs. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Thomas Bent, of Taunton, on 22nd January, 1937. Bro. Bent held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer (Craft and R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

John Herbert Bishop, of London, S.W., on 24th June, 1936. Bro. Bishop was a member of the William Rogers Lodge No. 2823. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1900.

Thomas William Blackmore, of London, S.W., in February, 1936. Bro. Blackmore was P.M. of Royal Navy Lodge No. 59. and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

Francis Hepburn Chevallier Boutell, of Melbourne, on the 19th February, 1937. Bro. Boutell held the rank of Past District Grand Master and Past Grand Superintendent (South America, S.D.). He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1901.

Charles William Braine, of London, S.W., on the 17th February, 1937. Bro. Braine was P.M. of Semper Vigilans Lodge No. 3040. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.

Henry William James Browse, of Petts Wood, Kent, in February, 1935. Bro. Browse was P.M. of the Lion and Lamb Lodge No. 192, and J. of Old Keing's Arms Chapter No. 28. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1919.

Albert Cass, of Bristol, on 15th June, 1937. Bro. Cass was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1926.

John Chapman, of Buenos Aires, in 1936. Bro. Chapman was P.M. of Alexandra Lodge No. 2960; and was a member of Masfield Chapter No. 617. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1914.

Rev. Canon Christopher Venn Childe, LL.D., of London, W., on the 17th January, 1937, aged 91 years. Bro. Childe held the rank of Past Grand Chaplain, and Past Grand Scribe N. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1898.

George Laxton Collins, of Gateshead, on the 13th June, 1937, aged 66 years. Bro. Collins was a member of Mosley Lodge No. 3105, and P.Soj. of John George Gibson Chapter No. 2929. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1919.

Joseph Cook, of Nottingham, in 1936. Bro. Cook held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1905.

George Edwin Emery, of Melbourne, on 31st March, 1937. Bro. Emery held the rank of Past Grand Master, and Past Grand Z., Victoria. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1914.

Ainslie Jackson Ensor, B.Sc., of Haverhill, Suffolk, on 26th February, 1936. Bro. Ensor was P.M. Royal Clarence Lodge No. 1823, and a member of Martyn Chapter No. 1224. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1934.

Matthew Frier Findlay, J.P., of Glasgow, on 17th February, 1937. Bro. Findlay held the rank of Past Sub.P.G.M., and was P.Z. of Chapter No. 311. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1933.

John Fishel, of St. Paul, Minn., U.S.A., on the 2nd December, 1936. Bro. Fishel was Rep. G.L. England, and for many years held the office of Grand Secretary. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1905.

Percy Graham Gilmour, of Woodbridge, on the 9th June, 1936. Bro. Gilmour held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., Norfolk. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1935.

James Gerald Gould, of Richmond, Surrey, on 6th December, 1936. Bro. Gould was a member of Kent Lodge No. 15. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.

John Graham, of Chichester. Bro. Graham was a member of St. Richard's Lodge No. 4469. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

William Cottom Hartley, of Wydnes, Lanes., on the 24th January, 1936. Bro. Hartley held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.So. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1917.

Eugene Eunson Hinman, M.D., of Albany, N.Y., U.S.A. Bro. Hinman was P.M. of Lodge No. 14, and P.H.P. of Chapter No. 5. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1922.

Arthur George Howlett, of Norwich, on 9th January, 1937. Bro. Howlett was a P.M. of Social Lodge No. 93; and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1902.

Max Infeld, of London, N., on 23rd April, 1937. Bro. Infeld was a P.M. of Lodge of Tranquility No. 185. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1911.

Orville Sidney Kean, of St. Thomas, V.I., U.S.A., in 1936. Bro. Kean was a P.M. of Harmonic Lodge No. 356. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

William Gull Lipscomb, M.A., of Niton, I.W., on the 12th February, 1937. Bro. Lipscomb was a member of Halsey Lodge No. 1479; and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1901.

Archibald McWilliam, of Sao Paulo, Brazil, on 24th April, 1937. Bro. McWilliam held the rank of P.Dis.G.D.; and had been admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle only a few months before his death.

Daniel Oakley, of Stourbridge, in March, 1937. Bro. Oakley held the rank of P.Pr.G.D.C. (Craft and R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Sir **Francis H. Pepper**, of Birmingham, on 21st November, 1936. Bro. Pepper held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1936.

Capt. **Claude William Manners Plenderleath**, *C.B.E., R.N.*, of Teignmouth, Devon, on 13th June, 1937. Bro. Plenderleath held the rank of Deputy Grand Sword Bearer (Craft and R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1907.

Percy Plowman, of London, S.W., on 7th April, 1937. Bro. Plowman was P.M. of Kent Lodge No. 15. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.

Charles Herbert Rhodes, of Cape Town, S. Africa. Bro. Rhodes was a member of Lodge No. 12 (D.C.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1917.

Lieut.-Col. **James Govan Robertson**, *T.D.*, of Giffnock. Bro. Robertson was P.M. of Lodge No. 1359, and Grand Steward. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

William George Roehrich, of New York, on 1st April, 1936. Bro. Roehrich was a member of Lodge No. 245. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Leon Schwarz, of Prague, in December, 1936. Bro. Schwarz was G.Sec. for Foreign Relations. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1933.

Fred. Bernard Sharp, of Nottingham, on 2nd December, 1936. Bro. Sharp held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1920.

Albert Sharratt, of Elland, W. Yorks., on 14th April, 1937. Bro. Sharratt held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in January, 1918.

Commdr. **Francis H. E. Shipton**, *O.B.E., R.N.*, of Dawlish, on 12th April, 1937. Our Brother was P.M. of Londesborough Lodge No. 1681, and P.Z. of Mount Sinai Chapter No. 19. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912.

Eldred Penrose Stevens, of Burnham, Somerset, in April, 1937. Bro. Stevens was P.M. of Eyre Lodge No. 2742, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

George William Sutton, of New Malden, Surrey, on 18th March, 1937. Bro. Sutton was P.M. of Malden Lodge No. 2875, and was a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1918.

Edward William Thomas, of Kaloomba, N.S.W. Bro. Thomas was P.M. of Lodge No. 118, and J. of Chapter No. 25. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1935.

Edward William Thomas, of Worcester, on 6th May, 1937. Bro. Thomas was P.M. and Sec. of Lodge Semper Fidelis, and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1933.

William James Travissick, of Santiago, Chili, on the 8th March, 1936. Bro. Travissick was a member of Lodge of Harmony No. 1411. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

Charles Henry Walker, of Leeds, on 23rd February, 1937. Bro. Walker was P.M. of St. Michael's Lodge No. 4353, and P.Z. of Alfred Chapter No. 306. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1933.

Frank Wood, of Canterbury, in 1937. Bro. Wood was P.Pr.G.Pt. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912.



SUMMER OUTING.

EAST WARWICKSHIRE.



THE venue for the Summer Outing this year was fixed for East Warwickshire with headquarters at Leamington Spa; and not only did the names of the places to be visited sound very attractive, but also the kind and cordial invitation of the Local Brethren promised a most interesting time.

The party was composed of Brethren coming from many places:—

Bros. *Dr. E. Allan*, Elgin, P.Pr.G.D.C., W. Lancs.; *Fredk. J. Baldwin*, St. Helens, P.Pr.A.G.Pt., Wores.; *H. Bladon*, London, P.A.G.D.C.; *F. M. Boniface*, London, P.M., 2694; *Major W. B. Brook*, Kenya, P.Dis.G.D.; *E. A. Bullmore*, Wisbech, W.M., 809; *Robt. A. Card*, Seaford, P.M., 30; *G. S. Collins*, London, P.G.D.; *Rev. Canon Covey-Crump*, Wisbech, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., 2076; *Dr. A. J. Cross*, Dalton-in-Furness, P.G.D.; *Robt. Dawson*, Hastings, P.Pr.G.W.; *W. Morgan Day*, London, 2860; *Wm. Dickinson*, Guernsey, P.Pr.G.Sup.W., Surrey; *Lewis Edwards*, London, P.A.G.R., 2076; *Wm. S. Ellis*, Newark, P.Pr.G.D.C.; *S. J. Fenton*, Birmingham, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., S.D., 2076; *David Flather*, Hooton-Levet, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; *J. F. H. Gilbard*, London, 56; *F. W. Golby*, London, P.A.G.D.C., J.W., 2076; *W. Barry Gregar*, Weybridge, P.Pr.G.D., Essex; *Wallace Heaton*, London, P.A.G.D.C.; *J. P. Hunter*, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; *J. V. Jacklin*, Royston, Herts., 3532; *G. Y. Johnson*, York, P.Pr.G.W.; *H. Johnson*, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191; *D. Knoop*, Sheffield, P.M., 2076; *Hugh C. Knowles*, London, P.A.G.R.; *Dr. F. Lace*, Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; *H. W. Martin*, London, L.R., P.M., 1964; *C. A. Newman*, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; *Dr. C. E. Newman*, London, 4453; *Dr. T. North*, London, P.G.D.; *Dr. S. H. Perry*, Spalding, Pr.G.D.; *Cecil Powell*, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; *A. Quick*, London, P.M., 2183; *T. E. Rees*, Walsall, 654 (S.C.); *Col. F. M. Rickard*, Englefield Green, P.G.Swd.B.; *A. P. Salter*, London, P.G.St.B.; *W. Scott*, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; *Thos. Selby*, Eaglescliffe, P.G.St.B.; *W. J. Songhurst*, London, P.G.D., P.M. and Treas., 2076; *J. W. Stevens*, London, P.A.G.Sup.W.; *E. Tappenden*, Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; *F. J. Underwood*, Worcester, P.M., 280; *Lionel Vibert*, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076; *R. B. Vincent*, London, P.Pr.G.W., Herts.; *E. J. White*, Bath, P.Pr.G.St.B.; *B. Wolde*, Selangor, F.M.S., P.M., 2656; *H. Wood*, P.D.G.St.B.

On Thursday, 17th June, the London Brethren, leaving Paddington at 11.5 a.m., reached Leamington Spa at 12.40 p.m. and were conveyed to the Regent Hotel, where those from other parts of the country had already assembled.

After lunch we proceeded by motor coaches to Warwick, where we first visited the Castle,—“that fairest monument of ancient and chivalrous splendour which yet remains uninjured by time”, to quote the words of Sir Walter Scott. Here we spent an interesting hour viewing the interior of the Castle and the many treasures collected therein; and were given a description of the buildings—the gatehouse of 1800, Cæsar’s Tower (1350), Guy’s Tower (1394), and other remarkable features. After passing through the delightful grounds to view the

farfamed 'Warwick Vase', we proceeded to St. Mary's Church, where our attention was particularly directed to the Beauchamp Chapel, consecrated in 1475. A beautiful piece of work which, fortunate as it is to have suffered so little as it did at the time of the Civil War, yet with the loss of the reredos and images of gold on each side and the destruction of so much of the old glass, must have been considerably marred. We listened with great pleasure to an interesting talk, given by Bro. G. Tibbits, upon the history of the Chapel and the objects contained in it.

From St. Mary's Church we proceeded to the Masonic Rooms, where by the kind invitation of the Brethren of the three Warwick Lodges, we partook of tea.

After tea we visited the Leicester Hospital, which was described to us by Bro. G. Tibbits. The Hospital is a most excellent example of a half-timbered edifice. It is entered through a gateway over which is the date 1571 with the armorial bearings and badges of Robert Dudley. The interior of the quadrangle is a very picturesque scene with carving and decoration. After visiting the Chapel of the Hospital we were, by the kindness of the Master, permitted to walk through the gardens into the drawing-room of the Master, which had once been the Minstrel Gallery of the hall of the Hospital.

We returned to Leamington by motor; and after dinner, by kind invitation from the W.M. and Brethren of Guy's Lodge No. 395, attended an emergency meeting of the Lodge at the Masonic Temple. We were given a warm welcome, and were entertained with a paper on the Lodge and its history, read by Bro. S. Mellows.

On Friday morning we proceeded to Wootton Wawen, where we visited the church, which was described to us by the Vicar, Rev. R. Matthews. The church formerly belonged to the Abbey of Conches in Normandy. It claims an antiquity greater than any other church in the county, exhibiting in the sub-structure of the tower up to three-fifths of its height vestiges of Anglo-Saxon construction. This, the Norman nave, and Saxon sanctuary, are evidence of its long history. The clerestory is an addition of the fifteenth century. The chancel is in the Decorated style and has a large handsomely traceried east window, around which is the almost unique ornamental feature of a continuous series of crockets running up in a hollow moulding. The ancient character of the church is also marked by the absence of any staircase to the belfry, which is reached from the outside.

From Wootton Wawen we went on to Alcester, where, as guests of the Apollo Lodge No. 301, we visited the Masonic Rooms. The Apollo Lodge meetings are held in the Town Hall, which is a building supported on stone pillars with a carved date 1641; the basement, formerly used as a market place, was, in 1873, converted into a room for holding meetings of magistrates. The Apollo Lodge is the fortunate possessor of some old and unique furniture, of which an interesting description was given to us by Bro. S. J. Fenton:—

THE FURNITURE OF THE APOLLO LODGE, No. 301, ALCESTER, WARWICKSHIRE.

(No. 537 in 1794; 563 in 1814; 378 in 1832; 301 in 1863.)

The first meeting of the Lodge took place on February 26, 1794, and at that meeting the minutes record that Mr. James Wyatt and Mr. Arthur Styles were proposed as initiates and each deposited 10/6 (as part of their fee of £3. 3. 0. each).

These two brethren were initiated on March 5, 1794, and eventually made Master Masons on April 23, 1794.

We are not particularly interested in James Wyatt, except that he is described as Treasurer of the Lodge at the meeting at which he was proposed as an initiate. He was the Gardener at Ragley Hall, then the seat of the Marquis of Hertford, and now the seat of Lord Henry Seymour, Asst. Prov. Grand Master for Warwickshire.

The other initiate, however, is important, because he is described as a "joiner" in the Lodge register, and as a "cabinet maker" in that rare supplement to the 4th Vol. of the *Freemasons Magazine* of July, 1794, entitled "The Masonic Directory, No. 1".

On the day that Styles was proposed as a member (Feby. 26, 1794), the Lodge Cash a/c states:—

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Paid Arthur Styles | £20. 0. 0. |
| and he was paid on 19 Dec. 1795 | £10. 0. 0. |
| 11 Apr. 1796 | £ 7. 16. 0. |
| 17 Sep. 1796. Paid Mr. Styles the full balance of his bill | £24. 13. 11. |
| making total payments: | £62. 9. 11. |

On the other side of the account there is an item:—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 1796. Sep. 17. Subscriptions of the Brothers to pay | |
| Mr. Styles Bill, etc. | £30. 19. 6. |

It is probable therefore that £31. 10. 5. was taken from the Lodge Fund and £30. 19. 6. was raised by subscription.

It does not definitely state in the minutes why these sums of money were paid to Bro. Styles, but we can reasonably assume that as a Cabinet Maker and Joiner he made the furniture of the Lodge, because there does not seem to have been any necessity for such a large amount to have been expended in any other direction and undoubtedly the furniture was distinctive and expensive.

The Furniture consists of Pedestal, 2 Columns, Three Chairs and a Box, and these have, in all probability, been copied from the furniture originally made for the Shakespeare Lodge, No. 516, which originally met at the White Lion, at Stratford on Avon (8 miles away), and was warranted on Feb. 1, 1793, just about one year prior to the Apollo Lodge.

Both these Lodges sprang from the same original source, St. John's Lodge No. 583 at Henley in Arden, about 8 miles away from Alcester in a more northerly direction than Stratford on Avon.

The furniture of the Shakespeare Lodge, mentioned above, is now in the possession of, and used by, the Shakespeare Lodge, No. 426, meeting at Spilsby in Lincolnshire—that Lodge having bought it in a derelict condition in Birmingham about 1838 for £15. This has been described in *A.Q.C.*, vol. 10 (1897).

The two sets of furniture are practically identical except the chairs.

The Pedestal of the Apollo Lodge has a painting in Metal of Apollo playing a Harp, with Masonic working tools and emblems displayed on an Arch, whilst the Spilsby furniture depicts Shakespeare apparently studying working tools at the base of a column.

The Columns and Globes at Alcester are the original, and £2. 2. 0. appears to have been paid for the Globes in 1794.

The Box is unique,—its uses cannot be described in writing. Its impressiveness is obvious, but technically, it is a pity that the skeleton, in the case of the Spilsby specimen, is feminine. I must ask Dr. Crawford to hold an inquest on the Alcester specimen.

The Chairs

The Sword. This was bought in 1794 at a cost of £6. 12. 0. The hilt, or guard, is a very fine piece of handworked brass, much more elaborate than its counterpart at Spilsby. I am definitely of the opinion that the blade in the Apollo sword is not the original, which would have been more of the rapier pattern; the present blade is quite plain, but the scabbard has some masonic engraving. The Spilsby blade is masonically engraved.

It may be of interest to know that this Lodge held 15 meetings prior to its consecration.

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| First meeting: | 26 Feb. 1794. |
| Warrant dated: | 23 Apr. 1794. |
| Consecration: | 30 Jul. 1794. |

A brief outline of the History of the Apollo Lodge was issued on the occasion of its Centenary in 1894, but many items of interest have been discovered during the last few years showing the Lodge to have had an extremely interesting career.

The Lodge has for years met on Wednesday nearest the Full Moon next:—
1808. June. 8. Minutes. Resolved that no gentleman whatever be admitted from this time forward to view the furniture or Formation of this Lodge.

On leaving Alcester we visited Evesham, where we inspected the churches and the remains of the ancient abbey under the guidance of Bro. H. C. Dicks; and then on to Broadway and halted for lunch.

After lunch, *via* Five Mile Drive to Stow-in-the-Wold, and thence *via* Moreton-in-the-Marsh to Edgehill, and took tea at the Garden Craftsman Guest House. After tea we visited the battlefield of Edgehill, and here, while standing near the Ratley Round House, we were regaled by Bro. Lionel Vibert with the story of that memorable battle:—

THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL.

On August 22nd, 1642, the King raised his standard at Nottingham. This was in fact a declaration that the country was in a state of Civil War, and that the differences between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians were now to be settled by force of arms. At the time his forces were far from numerous, but Parliament, very injudiciously, issued a declaration that they would not lay down their arms until the King had withdrawn his protection from those they styled delinquents, whose property they proposed to confiscate. The King, on the other hand, had announced his determination to maintain the Protestant religion and govern according to the laws of the land. As a consequence in a very short time he had with him over 10,000 men. Parliament, however, had probably 20,000, who were under the command of Essex, who was now at Northampton. Both armies were ill-equipped, little more than raw levies, and their leaders had great difficulty in finding the funds to pay them; they freely encouraged looting as a substitute.

The King was not prepared to face Essex, and he marched westward to collect reinforcements from Wales and Ireland. The position at this time was roughly that the East and South, excluding Cornwall, were Parliamentary, although there was a strong Royalist party in London itself. The West and North were Royalist, but Manchester and most of the industrial towns were for the Parliament. Yorkshire made an attempt to keep the Civil War outside its boundaries by a mutual compact, but this state of affairs did not last long.

When the King left Nottingham, Essex also marched westwards to relieve Worcester, which was threatened by the Royalist troops. On his approach they

withdrew and left him in possession of the town. But at Powick Bridge, just outside Worcester, Rupert with his cavalry surprised a body of Parliamentary horse, who fled in disorder. However, this did not suffice to save Worcester for the King.

Having received large reinforcements in Cheshire, Charles marched S.E. His intention was to reach Oxford, which, though temporarily occupied by Parliamentary troops, was strongly Royalist, and from there to continue his march upon London itself. On October 12th, he left Shrewsbury. Avoiding Warwick and Coventry, both Parliamentary centres, he was at Southam, about eight miles S.E. of Leamington, on the 21st, and he reached Edgecote, on the main road from Warwick to Banbury, just North-East of this hill, on the 22nd. His army consisted of about 14,000 men. Banbury, six miles away, was occupied by the Parliamentary forces. Essex had only 10,000 under him, and he was separated from Hampden, who was coming up from the West with another army and artillery, by more than a day's march. However, Essex was coming along the Stratford-Banbury road, that crosses this hill at its northern end, and was thus close behind the King's right flank. He had reached Kington that same day, October 22nd. It was clearly not possible for the Royalist troops to continue their march until Essex had been disposed of. On the morning of the 23rd, therefore, Charles turned aside and concentrated his whole army on the western slopes of Edgehill. Essex was in the fields down below. It would have been foolhardy for Essex to attack a superior force, stationed in a commanding position. But neither could the King remain on the defensive. He was in enemy country; Hampden with his artillery was but a day's march away; inaction would have meant starvation and disaster. The King therefore decided to attack.

The disposition of his troops was as follows. Rupert was on the right with the major portion of the cavalry. The infantry in three bodies in the centre, and on the left a smaller body of horse under Wilmot. Charles also had his artillery in support of the centre and his own cavalry bodyguard. But there was one fatal weakness in the arrangement. Rupert had persuaded the King to agree that he was to take no orders from any other than the King himself. The General of the Army had been Lord Lindsey. But when he understood that he was to have no control over the cavalry he refused to continue in command and went back to his own regiment; the King put the Earl of Forth in his place. The Parliamentary troops were disposed in a similar manner, infantry in the centre and bodies of cavalry on either flank. They had no artillery, but they had in reserve another troop of horse under Cromwell.

At mid-day the Royalist troops advanced and after the first shot or two Rupert charged. He knew that there was treachery among the Parliamentary horse. On his approach, Sir Faithful Fortescue—the Christian name seems singularly inapt—came over to him with his troop and joined in the attack. Perhaps the recollection of Powick Bridge was still fresh in their minds; probably they were actually inferior troops. However that may be, the Parliamentarians broke up in utter confusion, and threw into disorder the infantry behind them, and fled, not stopping till they reached Kington. Rupert was a cavalry leader and nothing else; he knew nothing of tactics or strategy. He had no thought but that of pursuing the fleeing horsemen, whatever might happen to the rest of the battle. He actually reached Kington, and there his troops found Essex's baggage, which they proceeded to pillage.

On the left flank the same thing took place. Wilmot found but a small body of horse opposed to him, and he drove them before him across country. The King's body guard was in theory his cavalry reserve. But they were not going to be content with merely looking on; they galloped off after Wilmot, and the King and his infantry were thus completely deprived of all their cavalry.

When Rupert's charge disorganised his left flank, Essex believed that all was lost. He rallied his men and led them in a gallant attack on the centre of the Royalist position, preferring death to dishonour. But he had with him Cromwell and his unbroken troop. These were now able to attack the Royalist infantry, who, being entirely without cavalry to support them, were quite unable to stand up against the onslaught. After making what resistance they could they gave way; the artillery itself was captured; the very Royal Standard was seized, though it was recaptured at the end of the day by a personal act of great bravery. Lindsey was killed. The battle might have ended in an even greater disaster, had not Rupert now arrived, and made it unsafe for Essex to attempt to pursue his advantage, especially as it was by now nearly dark. Falkland, indeed, thought that the King might now, by a decisive movement, end the battle and with it the Civil War. But the Earl of Forth, an experienced soldier, hesitated; the King hesitated; Rupert declined to call on his exhausted troopers for any further effort. As night fell the troops remained in the positions they had reached. During the night Hampden arrived with 4,000 men and his artillery. But in the morning Essex, with his inferior cavalry, would not venture on another assault. He withdrew to Kineton and then to Warwick. Rupert did something, but not much, to harry his retreat. The King returned to his original line of march. On the 27th he captured Banbury; on the 29th he entered Oxford in triumph. He got as close to London as Turnham Green before the Parliament were able to organise another army to check his advance.

Tactically Edgehill was a Royalist victory. The enemy were unable to prevent the King from achieving his immediate objectives, Banbury, Oxford and the road to London. But the Parliamentarians showed even here "that co-operation between infantry and cavalry which distinguishes an army from a fighting crowd" (Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, i., 59). This lesson the Royalists could not learn, and the King continued to pursue divided counsels until the New Model eventually gave the Parliament that definite superiority in all arms, which was, in 1651, to culminate in the crowning mercy of Worcester, two years after Charles himself had gone to the scaffold.

Addendum.

This account is based on Gardiner, whose views I have in the main adopted. But Bro. Col. Rickard has pointed out to me that it is possible to take a much more favourable view of Rupert's part in the battle. The Royalists had nothing but contempt for the forces opposed to them, and this applies with particular force to the cavalry. The principal object was to secure the King's right flank as he was marching towards Banbury and Oxford, and this would be accomplished by dispersing the hostile cavalry, as the infantry could be disregarded. Rupert did this effectually, and no doubt he considered that Essex would not venture on a frontal attack. He was not to know that Wilmot and the King's bodyguard would go off as they did and leave the Royalist troops entirely unsupported. His refusal to embark on another attack at the close of the day, with darkness coming on, was probably justified by the condition of his men and their horses; they had been to Kineton and back.

But for Wilmot and the bodyguard there is no excuse. Their conduct very nearly converted the battle into a disaster to the Royalist army. They bring out once more the fatal weakness that beset King Charles throughout the campaign, divided counsels and an entire absence of unity of command.

The return to Leamington was made *via* Compton Verney Park.

On Saturday morning we proceeded to Kenilworth, and spent a couple of hours wandering over the ruins of the Castle, being greatly entertained

throughout by the fully detailed description from the guide. The return journey to Leamington was made *via* Guy's Cliff, where a halt was made for a short while for the purpose of visiting the old mill and admiring the view of the river and the House beyond.

During the afternoon the Brethren were free to follow their own inclinations; and several paid a visit to Stratford in order to see a play at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre.

After dinner we were at the Pump Room "At Home" to the Local Brethren, and endeavoured to show them how much we had enjoyed ourselves and had appreciated their generous hospitality and kindness in making our visit such a success. During the evening we were given an interesting paper by Bro. Lionel Vibert, entitled "Royal Freemasons"; and afterwards were entertained at a seance of sleight-of-hand and conjuring.

ROYAL FREEMASONS.

The old song tells us that

Great Kings, Dukes and Lords
Have put by their swords
Our mystery to put a good grace on—

and in this year of Coronation it has occurred to me that it would be appropriate to bring together some at all events of the Royal names that have at various times been associated with the Craft. Their association has been of various types. Many have been claimed as Masons without a shred of either evidence or even probability. Others have been noted as patrons, without any assertion that they had ever actually joined the Fraternity, and this is a vague claim that might be made by any body of men on behalf of their particular calling. But in historical times many Royal personages have been and are to-day definitely Freemasons, and if one were to include all the minor Continental princes who might be mentioned, the list would degenerate into a mere catalogue.

Anderson, who must have had an extraordinary capacity for credulity, if he believed half of his own assertions, began unhesitatingly with Solomon as Grand Master. He was not the first in that office, as Moses had preceded him there. However, Moses not being a royalty, he need not detain us now. Hiram of Tyre was also a Grand Master in his own kingdom, and we are told vaguely that many other Kings at this period were Grand Masters, each in his own territory. It is worth considering what led Anderson to make this claim. Actually when he wrote there was not a single authentic record of a royal personage being a mason with the sole exception of James VI. of Scotland, at Scone in 1601, a circumstance of which Anderson was not aware, since he nowhere alludes to it, not even in 1738. There were, of course, the references in the *Old Charges* to Nimrod and Edwin, the King's son, or brother. They also claimed Charles Martel as a mason, and they erroneously described him as King of France. Anderson was familiar with these references, and indeed he fell into the same error with regard to Charles Martel in 1723, though he avoids it in 1738. But in 1723 he had clearly been content to accept the statements he found in the old texts without any independent examination of them.

But what the *Old Charges* say is that David gave the masons a Charge, which Solomon confirmed, thus making them patrons but not actual Freemasons. Some versions claim Aymon, the King's son, as a Mason and Chief Master, so that he must be included in the list of masonic royalties. But they arrived at this relationship by misunderstanding the Latin of the Vulgate in its account

of Hiram Abiff. Anderson was able to correct this error. But, all the same, he improved on his originals. He says very little of David, but Solomon is definitely a Grand Master.

To-day we still occasionally hear this wholly unhistorical statement repeated. The phrase "humble representative of King Solomon" will be familiar at all events to most Provincial Brethren, and many of us have heard allusions to the Royal Solomon on the Throne. Occasionally the presiding officer has associated with him Boaz, who is sometimes described as a Prince and Ruler in Israel, and Jachin, an Assistant High Priest. Boaz had died a century before the days of Solomon and was neither Prince nor Ruler; he was a Bethlehemite farmer. Who Jachin may have been no one can say, as there is no authority for him in the Bible or anywhere else. I am uncertain of the source of all these statements.

Matthew Birkhead, who wrote the Entered Apprentice Song, would seem to have come across the statements in the *Old Charges* as to Nimrod, Edwin, and Charles Martel, unless indeed his Great Kings were merely a poetical flourish. But however that may be, the idea was now to be developed into a specific statement by our first historian. But whereas the *O.C.* made King Nimrod a mason, Anderson was content to start with Solomon, and having endowed the Craft thus early in its history with a Royal Grand Master, he had no scruples in carrying on the succession, and we now have in turn Nebuchadnezzar, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Augustus, Charles Martel, Henry VI.—the big gap here was well filled by him in 1738—James VI. of Scotland, Charles I., and Charles II. and William III. But with regard to the two last, as Anderson was now dealing with monarchs who were still within living memory, he was somewhat cautious and said only that they were probably masons. In 1738 he makes the statement categorically. The Kings of Scotland before James VI. are merely described generally as encouragers in 1723. And Anderson calls James VI. simply a Mason King. In 1738 he asserts that James was initiated by Claud Hamilton, a wholly fictitious Grand Master. It is almost a pity that he did not know the facts, because the statement that King James joined the Lodge at Perth in 1601 does appear to be an actual fact, although his membership was probably merely honorary, and may or may not have involved an admission ceremony.

The *Old Charges* tell us that Edwin, who was the son of Athelstan according to some versions, and the brother in others, was definitely a mason; he was a master of "speculatif" and he joined the Craft to add to his theoretical knowledge an acquaintance with practical masonry. That this represents some historical incident is not impossible. Edwin was Athelstan's brother; he died young, but his name occurs on Charters. The prince may have personally associated with the builders at some of the many places where Athelstan was erecting town walls, or monastic buildings, such as Exeter, or Malmesbury. The tradition was still preserved when the Craft reduced its history to writing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But Bro. Knoop does not consider that before the Conquest there can have been any organisation of the Craft as a body.

Having cleared the ground, and disposed of the pre-historic period, we can now deal, to some extent at all events, with the numerous personages of royal blood who have actually belonged to the Craft. But it will not be possible to refer in detail to more than one or two outside our own country. Bro. Speth wrote a paper on the subject in 1885, and he there brought together a list of no less than 163 names, by including every German princeling of whom there was any record, and many others of even less importance; he included also many of whom he could say only that they had been claimed as masons, but no proof was forthcoming. For our own country he stopped at the Duke of Albany, and was able, in 1885, to refer to only our present Grand Master as P.S.G.W. We have since then been able to add to the list five princes of the Royal Blood.

The first royal personage of whose initiation there is definite record was Francis Duke of Lorraine, who subsequently married Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria. He was admitted at the Hague by a special deputation from the Grand Lodge of England in 1731. He has been dealt with in detail in *A.Q.C.* by Bro. Daynes (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 107). He became Grand Master of Austrian Freemasonry. Next in order comes Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, initiated at a special Lodge at Kew in 1737. In the next year Frederick the Great, who was then the Crown Prince of Prussia, was initiated secretly at Brunswick. He was subsequently Grand Master of the first of the three Grand Lodges that were founded at Berlin. His name is familiar to many of us in another connection, because, in 1803 or so, he was stated to have given the Constitutions to what subsequently became the A. & A. Rite. But the discussion of that lies outside our present subject. However, it will be observed that our first three royalties were two princes who became, respectively, Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, and our own Prince of Wales, who died in his father's lifetime.

George III. was not himself a Freemason, but his three brothers were and his six sons; George IV., Frederick Duke of York, William, afterwards William IV., the Duke of Kent, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Sussex.

It was under the Duke of Kent as G.M. of the Antients, and the Duke of Sussex as G.M. of the Moderns, that the Union of the two Grand Lodges was effected in 1813, the Duke of Sussex being installed as Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge.

The next member of the Royal Family to join our Order was Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, who was initiated at Stockholm in 1868. He became Grand Master in 1875, and held that office till he succeeded to the throne in 1902. Our present Grand Master, his younger brother, was initiated by the Prince of Wales in 1874, and succeeded him as Grand Master. The Duke of Albany, another brother, was initiated in the Apollo University Lodge in 1874, to become Provincial Gd. Master of Oxfordshire in 1876, but his promising career terminated in 1884. The eldest son of the Prince, the Duke of Clarence, was another Freemason, who died at a comparatively early age. I need not remind you of the Masons in the next generation. Of the four sons of King George V., our present King, the Duke of Windsor and the Duke of Kent are not merely members of our Order, but have served it zealously and well, and with them we should include our Grand Master's son, Prince Arthur of Connaught.

To complete the subject, it is necessary to refer to some, at all events, of the royalties of other countries. The Kings of Sweden have been the heads of the Order in that country since Adolf Fredrick, who assumed the title of Patron of the Swedish Craft in 1762. Then there are all the Kings of Prussia since Frederick the Great, with one exception. Napoleon is claimed as a mason, but the subject is not free from obscurity. In Denmark, Christian VII. and his two successors assumed the title of Protector of the Lodges, but do not appear to have been masons themselves. Frederic VII., however, was a mason, and became Grand Master in 1848, when he ascended the throne. The present King, Christian X., who is also the Grand Master, has just celebrated his Silver Jubilee as King, and our Grand Lodge recently congratulated him officially on behalf of the English Craft. William II., King of the Netherlands (1840-49), and also his brother, Frederick, were masons, as was also his grandson, Alexander, who became Grand Master in 1882; but he died within two years. To these can be added the present King of Greece, who was initiated in a London Lodge. Another special instance is Peter I., Emperor of Brazil, who—(I am quoting Speth)—was initiated in Rio de Janiero in 1821 and was at once elected Grand Master. He suppressed masonry in 1822. He abdicated in 1831, since when the Craft has been revived in Brazil.

The son of the Nawab of the Carnatic was initiated at Trichinopoly in 1777; the letters he exchanged with Grand Lodge can be seen to-day in the G.L. Library. Kamehameha, the King of the Sandwich Islands, initiated in 1857, can hardly be omitted from even the most cursory survey; and the circumstances surrounding the initiation of the Amir of Afghanistan by Sir Henry McMahon have been recently made generally known.

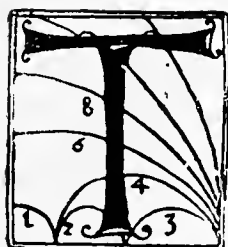
It is indeed a remarkable catalogue and I could have extended it considerably. But even if I had done so, there would still stand out as the most conspicuously and consistently masonic among all the princes of the earth, our own Royal Family, the oldest male member of which to-day is our own Grand Master.

On Sunday the party dispersed, the London Brethren returning to London by the mid-day train.



St. John's Day in Harvest

THURSDAY, 24th JUNE, 1937.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.Reg., as S.W.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; and *Major* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., J.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. E. A. Sorrell, P.A.G.D.C.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., as I.G.; J. Harold B. Green; G. C. Kingscott, P.S.G.D., Vict.; N. F. Wills; Herbert Love, A.G.Purst.; F. Addington Hall; W. H. Leese; Geo. C. Williams; R. W. Strickland; L. G. Wearing; G. D. Elvidge; S. R. Clarke; R. A. Card; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B.; A. Thompson; J. McDade; G. S. Shepherd-Jones; A. F. G. Warrington; T. Jeune Pugsley; T. W. Marsh; F. Coston Taylor; J. J. Cooper; Wm. A. Congdon; A. F. Cross; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; A. F. Ford; Eric Alven; J. F. Nicholls; F. A. Dale; A. F. Hatten; J. F. H. Gilbard; Wilfrid Ellis; Fred. Underwood, P.A.G.D.C.; E. B. Holmes; M. Lawrence; A. W. R. Kendrick; C. S. Burdon, P.A.G.St.B.; G. W. Smith; L. G. Annetts; A. H. Smith; H. G. Ridge; H. S. Phillips; J. W. Stevens; H. D. Elkington, P.G.Pt.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. L. Hartell, Excelsior Lodge No. 61 (W.Aust.C.); R. S. Hall and L. J. Inman, Southgate Lodge No. 1950; W. J. Popkin, City of London St. Olave's Lodge No. 3213; Robert Ives, Isaac Newton Lodge No. 859; and P. S. Surangnana Mudaliar, P.A.G.R.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; B. Telepneff; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., S.D.; B. Ivanoff; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and W. J. Williams, P.M.

One District Grand Lodge and Eleven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

From the Lodge collection.

Presentation copy: History of Guys Lodge, by Bro. Stephen Mellows. Presented at the reception by the Lodge at Leamington on June 17th, 1937.

Two plates, Staffordshire ware, showing Freemasons' Tavern.

P.M. jewel; no inscription. Hall mark 1866.

Pierced jewel; inscription in Portuguese—"Sabedoria Força Beleza". Reverse blank.

Locket-shaped jewel, solid, emblems in ornate border, brass on enamel; both sides similar. Inscription: "A.M. 5783. Sit lux et lux fuit".

'Turnip' watch, in case. On face painted, Perfect ashlar, with Lewis; S. & S.; Plumb and Level: 47th Prop; also four military figures. No date; nothing else Masonic, but the watch-cock is very ornate. Hall mark, apparently 1789, but no king's head. Geo. Barton, London.

By Bro. L. J. INMAN.

Tea Caddy, with Masonic emblems inlaid. No date; no inscriptions.

From the Lodge Library.

Multa Paucis.

Ahiman Rezon, 1764.

Kearsley, Constitutions, London, 1769.

Fms. Repository, Birmingham, n.d.

Wellins Calcott; A Candid Disquisition.

Preston, 1775, with *Meeson* bound up with it.

Trewman, Principles, 1777.

Reception d'un Frey-Maçon. The Herault Exposure.

(*Vide* the Introduction to No. xiv. of the *Leicester Masonic Reprints*.)

In 1737 Herault, the Paris Chief of Police, printed and circulated an account of the reception of a Freemason, which he is alleged to have been given by a Mdle. Carton, an opera-singer, who beguiled one of her admirers, who was a Freemason, into communicating it to her. The pamphlet was at once reprinted at Brussels, in at least two versions, and also in a translation, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of March, 1737.

The Brussels reprint has as title: *Reception d'un Franc-Maçon*. No copy of the Paris original has so far been discovered. But this pamphlet, now exhibited, appears to be the actual Paris original, although it is undated and has no place of publication. The text is not identical with the Brussels version, but the differences are mainly small verbal variations. The final paragraphs in the Brussels reprint, however, are considerably expanded from the Paris text—assuming that this is the real original.

This pamphlet was purchased by the Lodge from a Paris book-seller. Catalogue No. 19859. D 5.

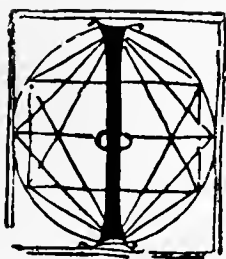
A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to those Brethren who had made presentations to the Lodge and had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

Bro. Major C. C. ADAMS read the following paper:—

NOTES ON SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MASONIC HANDBOOKS.

BY BRO. MAJOR CECIL ADAMS, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D.

INTRODUCTION.



It was not long after the formation of the Grand Lodge in London in 1717 that the Craft began to expand rapidly. To meet the needs of its members, printers and publishers availed themselves of the opportunity for providing a literature, and, concurrently with the official publications, unofficial works of all kinds began to appear on the market.

It is with these unofficial books, or rather with some of them, that this paper deals, but there are many of this class that are outside our scope. Books professing to disclose Masonic secrets are omitted, as they were, presumably, not intended for members of the Craft. Song books with no other information can hardly be included, and in any case, Brother H. Poole has already given them considerable attention in these *Transactions*.¹ Books of sermons, addresses, speeches and so on, with no other information, cannot be considered as handbooks, and they have accordingly been omitted. The handbook has been taken to include practically every other class of Masonic publication, that is to say, unofficial copies of the *Constitutions* or some part of them, and useful notes for members of the Fraternity with songs, addresses, Lodge lists and similar items of information sometimes included in the same book.

The subject embraces many Masonic publications of the period, which might be intended as a handbook or guide. They are small books, which might be carried about in the pocket, and would be convenient for reference. The majority are suitable for taking to the Lodge, and those which include songs were, of course, for use after the more serious part of the proceedings had ended.

In some cases, these books were in competition with the official *Book of Constitutions*, and, so far as the 'Moderns' were concerned, they had a distinct advantage, as all the early editions of the official book were very heavy and cumbersome. No doubt Laurence Dermott realised this weakness of his rivals, as *Ahiman Rezon* was published in a much more convenient form. His sagacity seems to have had the desired result, for it is noteworthy that, although many of the books which are now being reviewed take information from *Ahiman Rezon*, none was, so far as I can judge, intended for use by the 'Antient' Masons.

There are two classes of handbook which are not included in this survey,—namely, the translations of Anderson's *Constitutions* which appeared on the Continent, and the *Pocket Companions*. The former must have been used very widely in France and Germany, and some of them probably had official sanction. Many include Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* in order to explain the appearance of the 1731 *Defence of Masonry*, which was incorporated in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738. There are quite enough English handbooks to make the inclusion

¹ A.Q.C., xl., 7.

of these publications undesirable, and for that reason, no attempt has been made to note any book written in a foreign language. The *Pocket Companions*, all of which properly come within the range of this paper, have already been fully discussed in *A.Q.C.*, xlv., pp. 165-231. Originally, it was intended to include the whole subject of handbooks in one paper, but the *Pocket Companions* were found to fall into a group by themselves, and to furnish sufficient material for a separate article.

It has already been indicated that the subject is a difficult one, and that it has been hard to define its limits. It is, in fact, almost impossible to state clearly what is meant by a handbook, and it has been difficult to decide what to include and what to omit. An even harder task has been to prepare a paper which is in any way coherent, and this, unfortunately, is a difficulty which has not been overcome. Many of these books bear little or no relation to one another, and must be treated independently. There is no consecutive theme which can be followed to a logical conclusion, and the paper must, of necessity, be regarded as a series of independent notes. The books have been placed in groups for convenience, and no real attempt has been made to retain chronological sequence.

PRINTED VERSIONS OF THE OLD CHARGES.

The first series of books and pamphlets calling for notice comprises the unofficial issues of the Old Charges, which appeared in England in the early part of the century. These are of the greatest importance and interest, but they will be treated very briefly, as the subject has been fully discussed by Bros. W. J. Hugan, H. Poole, and others.

The earliest of these, and the most important of the printed versions, was *The Old Constitutions*, published for sixpence in 1722 by John Roberts.¹ It is, apparently, the first printed book which is definitely Masonic. Only two copies are at present known; one of these is in private ownership and is on loan to the Grand Lodge of England; the other is the property of the Grand Lodge of Iowa. The book starts with a laudatory Preface, and it would seem, therefore, that the editor was a Freemason. This is followed by the traditional history on the usual lines, and there is then an Exhortation and Oath, a Charge for Apprentices, and finally a series of Additional Orders, which were reputed to have been made at the General Assembly in 1663. At the end of this, the Oath is repeated in the same words as previously.² According to the book itself, the reason for publishing is that:—

It has yet seen the World but in Fragments, but is now put together as a Thing of too much Significancy to pass our Observation, and which will effectually vindicate the Ancient Society of Free-Masons from all that has or can be said against them.

We must remember that at the time that this book appeared, the authority of the new Grand Lodge was probably increasing by leaps and bounds, and no doubt there were many members of the earlier régime, or lack of régime, who were not too pleased with it. It is possible that this was a deliberate attempt to discountenance Dr. James Anderson and his new ideas. It was issued shortly before the first Grand Lodge *Constitutions*, and may have been published when it was learned that that book was going to press.

Shortly after the appearance of Anderson's book another version of the Old Charges entitled *The secret History of the Free-Masons* was published for

¹ See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, i., 74. It was advertised in the *Post-Boy* in February, 1722.

² See *A.Q.C.*, xxxviii., 102.

one shilling by Sam Briscoe.¹ This professes to disclose some secrets and is definitely opposed to the 1723 *Constitutions*, which it discusses and criticises. It refers to these as the new Constitutions, and so was, presumably, published very shortly afterwards. The Preface tells us how the manuscript was supposed to have been found:—

. . . Discovery of the Grand-Secret by means of an unfortunate Fellow at Vienna, who leaving the Key of his Room in the Door, the Landlady who was Jealous of missing several Pewter Pots and Dishes, had the Curiosity to peep into his Room, and to her grand Surprise found 'em all converted into Gold and Silver . . . The Man was doom'd the remaining part of his Life to the Mines in Germany, and the Secret was discover'd.

The History is followed by the Oath and Charges, and then there are the critical observations on Dr. Anderson's *Constitutions* to which reference has been made. At the end, we are treated to a so-called Dictionary of Signs which is puerile, for example:—

A Member to touch The Right Leg as he goes along the Streets, brings a Member (if he sees him) from his Work on the Top of a Steeple.

The book seems to be a catchpenny. Evidently the new official *Constitutions* attracted a good deal of attention, and it was hoped that the public would be caught by a pamphlet professing to expose the secrets of Freemasonry. The author, however, knew nothing to expose, and so was compelled to invent something plausible.

The book must have sold well, for about two years later a second edition appeared. The date, 1725, is given in the imprint, but the price is omitted owing to lack of space. Apart from the Title-page, the editions do not vary.

About 1729, *A Book of the Antient Constitutions*² was printed partly from engraved plates and partly from type, by Benjamin Cole. This has the character of a handbook even more than those which have been mentioned previously, as it contains songs, and was, no doubt, intended for the Mason to put in his pocket and take with him to the Lodge. Benjamin Cole³ was an engraver who issued the Lists of Lodges from 1745 to 1767, and engraved the frontispieces for the 1756 and 1767 *Constitutions*. He seems to have belonged in 1730 to the Lodge at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard,⁴ and the Lodge at the Queen's Arms, Newgate Street.⁵ The Dedication of this book is to Lord Kingston, the Grand Master, and this fixes the date at about 1729. The History and Charges follow, and then there are six pages of Songs. Up to this point, the book is engraved, but the rest is printed from ordinary type, and this printed part varies from one copy to another. The pagination is irregular, and Cole seems to have included anything that seemed to him to be suitable. There is a new Title-page with the date 1729, followed by speeches given by Dr. F. Drake, *F.R.S.*⁶ at York on the 27th December, 1726, and by Edward Oakley⁷ on the 31st December, 1728. Dr. Drake was known as a Jacobite. He was Junior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of York, and became Grand Master in 1761. This speech was published as a separate pamphlet at York by Thomas Gent in 1727. Edward Oakley was Provincial Senior Grand Warden of Carmarthenshire, and his address was to the Members of the Lodge at the Carpenter's Arms, Silver Street,

¹ See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, i., 75, and *Masonic Record*, vol. iii., p. 929.

² See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, i., 76, and *A.Q.C.*, xxxv., 74.

³ See *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 278.

⁴ Now the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2.

⁵ Now the Lodge of Emulation, No. 21.

⁶ See *D.N.B.*

⁷ See *ibid.*

Golden Square. This is probably the Lodge which is shown in the early Engraved Lists as meeting at the Three Compasses. The book ends with a Prologue and Epilogue.

A second edition of Cole's *Constitutions* appeared in 1731, the same engraved plates being used for the Dedication, Title-page and History, but the Songs are now printed. This book is put together in the same piecemeal way as Cole's earlier production, and the contents vary considerably from one copy to another. This edition has a Frontispiece engraved by Cole, which represents a building in progress, with various Masonic symbols. This is followed by a printed Title-page dated 1731, with the imprint "Printed for B. Creak and B. Cole". This new partner, who was a bookbinder, advertised his own publications freely throughout the book. He belonged to the Lodge meeting at the St. Paul's Head, which was then No. 40. Following the Title-page are the engraved plates, but the Dedication has been corrected, and Lord Lovel, who was Grand Master in 1731, has taken the place of Lord Kingston. After the History, the arrangement is very haphazard, and there may be other Title-pages dated 1731 or 1734. The printed part of the first edition is included, but the type has all been reset. The late prints of this book include songs with the name of Lord Weymouth, who was Grand Master in 1735.

Cole published a third edition in 1751, without the co-operation of Creak, his former partner. The same Frontispiece was used, but the other engraved plates were discarded, and the whole text printed from type. It includes the same material as the 1731 edition, and also a lecture given at the King's Head Lodge by Rev. John Entick¹ on the 20th March, 1751. This Lodge met at the King's Head in Poultry, and was then No. 180. At the beginning of this lecture we are told that it is "a Time our Enemies unite their Forces". This would seem to refer to the establishment of the 'Antients' at about this time, but it is well to remember that there were other difficulties which are discussed at p. 134 of the 1917-1918 *Transactions* of the Lodge of Research, No. 2429.

The last edition of Cole's book appeared in 1762. This has the same Frontispiece, but a new Title-page. It follows the previous edition page for page, but the type is reset, and the pagination is, in places, incorrect. There are three new songs in the text, and some copies have the song *Let Masonry be now my Theme* bound in at the end of the book. This song gives the name "Crawfurd" as Grand Master. As Lord Crawford held this office in 1734-1735, it was nearly thirty years out of date. This addition of an odd page is rather reminiscent of the partnership with B. Creak in 1731.

There is only one other printed edition of the Old Charges to be noted, and this is the "Dodd" version of 1739.² This is entitled *The Beginning and First Foundation of the Most Worthy Craft of Masoury, with The Charges thereunto belonging*. It was stated to have been written by a deceased Freemason for the benefit of his widow, and was printed in London for Mrs. Dodd, the price being sixpence. The book contains the Old Charges only, and the text does not differ materially from that of Benjamin Cole.

MULTA PAUCIS.

A very interesting and rather mysterious book entitled *The Complete Free Mason, or Multa Paucis*, appeared about 1763. The author is unknown, and there is no mention of the printer, publisher, or date. Several features invite discussion, and it is, therefore, worthy of a little examination.

Multa Paucis is very similar to many of the *Pocket Companions*. It is a small book, suitable for the pocket, and has 176 pages. It was obviously

¹ See *ibid.*

² See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, i., 76.

intended for the 'Moderns', and apparently was published as a cheap, handy substitute for their very cumbersome *Constitutions*. It is stated to be "chiefly intended for this Fraternity", and is not in any way an "exposure".

The composition can be described briefly. There is an engraved Frontispiece, which does duty also as a Title-page. This depicts an avenue of columns similar to that of the 1723 *Constitutions*. In the centre is the Grand Master with a scroll entitled "Constitution"; on each side is a seated figure, and the outline of Euclid I., 47, is below. Above is the title *The Complete Free Mason, or Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets*, and the imprint reads "Design'd by Br. Powiss Engrav'd by Br. Larken". There was a Powiss who was Master in 1755 and again in 1763 of the 'Modern' Lodge No. 68, which is now the Strong Man Lodge No. 45, and this may have been the same person. Larken engraved the plate in the second (1764) edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, and is probably Patrick Larkin, who was a member of 'Antient' Lodge No. 31 in 1758. The book starts with a Dedication "to Lovers of Secrets", and then follows a Table of Contents and a List of Songs. Part I. contains the first part of the History, which is on the lines of Anderson's *Constitutions*. This is followed by Part II., "Masonry in Britain", which is particularly interesting, and ends in 1763, thus giving us the approximate date of publication. Part III. is the Lodge List, and the book ends with thirty-one Songs.

There are a few items in the History which are worth noting. Ebrank, Bladud and Croseus are mentioned, and the latter name appears as "Carausius", as in the 1756 *Constitutions*. It has been stated¹ that this is all taken from those *Constitutions*, although the language has been varied. I am inclined to think that the author went to Scott's *Pocket Companion* of 1754, rather than to the official publication of two years later. Rev. John Entick wrote the history in both these books,² and the wording is almost identical. *Multa Paucis* has some Irish items which do not appear in the English *Constitutions*, and have been taken from Spratt's Dublin publication.

This book mentions six Lodges as being represented at the first Grand Lodge in 1717 instead of the usual four. This statement is certainly interesting, and it can hardly be a misprint, as it appears in two places.³ Lawrence Dermott, in New Regulation No. xii. of the 1778 *Ahiman Rezon*, apparently attempted to make the proceedings of 1717 seem illegal by requiring the Masters and Wardens of at least five Lodges to be present at Grand Lodge. A suggestion has been made that *Multa Paucis* was an attempt to counterblast Dermott's effort, but this would seem impossible, as it was in print some fifteen years earlier.

It is curious that, in the History, a mistake is made in omitting Viscount Weymouth from the list of Grand Masters.⁴ We are told that "Grand Master Crawford⁵ honoured the Fraternity with continuing in Solomon's Chair for the Space of two Years".

This book reports the initiation in 1743 of William, Duke of Cumberland, the second son of George II., an event which, apparently, is not mentioned elsewhere. There is some slight corroboration of the Duke's Masonic connection in the Cumberland-Allen medal which seems to have Masonic significance. This medal was given by him to Mr. Allen, the actor, on the 4th December, 1752. It is described in Spink and Son's *Monthly Numismatic Circular* of January, 1908.⁶

¹ *Miscellanea Latomorum*, iii., 115.

² See *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 191.

³ On pp. 83 and 111.

⁴ He held office from 1735-1736.

⁵ He held office from 1734-1735.

⁶ See Broadley Collection, vol. iv.

The description of the troubles in the Craft about 1750¹ is of interest, as no mention is made in the official *Constitutions*:—

Grand Master Byron was very inactive. Several Years passed by without his coming to a Grand Assembly, nay even neglected to nominate his successor. The Fraternity, finding themselves intirely neglected, it was the Opinion of many old Masons to have a consultation about electing a new and more active GRAND MASTER, and assembled for that Purpose, according to an Advertisement,² which accidentally was perceived by our worthy Brother, *Thomas Manningham*, M.D. who, for the Good of Masonry, took the trouble upon him to attend at this Assembly, and gave the Fraternity the most prudent Advice for their future Observance, and lasting Advantage. They all submitted to our worthy Brother's Superior Judgement, the Breach was healed.

These events took place only eleven or twelve years before *Multa Paucis* was published, and it is probable, therefore, that the report is substantially correct. Lord Byron was Grand Master from April, 1747, to March, 1752, and only eight meetings of Grand Lodge were held in this period. In one case, there was an interval of thirteen months, and in another case, of fifteen months between consecutive meetings. Also, it might be pointed out that Dr. Manningham had been a Grand Steward only, and became Deputy Grand Master in 1752 without holding any other office. There is no official evidence of discontent at this time, but there is no doubt that it existed, and it may have had something to do with the formation of the 'Antient' Grand Lodge.

The List of Lodges is an incomplete copy of the Engraved List for 1763, and there seems to be no doubt, therefore, that the book was published in that year. The name of Earl Ferrers is given in four places in the Songs as Grand Master, and he went out of office on the 8th May, 1764. Page 111 speaks of the third year of King George III., and this ended on the 24th October, 1763. The report of the Grand Assembly of that year seems to have been inserted rather as a postscript, so the summer of 1763 is indicated as the time of publication.

Bro. John Lane has given us some interesting notes on the Lodge List,³ and he points out that it seems to include 'Antient' Lodge No. 104 meeting at the "Bunch of Grapes" at Chatham. The London Lodges are arranged according to the days of the week. Outside London they are under Counties, and there are three "Sea and Field Lodges":—

On board his Majesty's Ship *Vanguard*.
On board his Majesty's Ship *Prince*.
Captain Bell's Troop of Dragoons.

Then follow Lodges in Wales and the Isles, which are Ely, Guernsey and Thanet; then we have Lodges in the Colonies and overseas, and finally foreign parts—Holland, Germany, Denmark, France and Spain. Among the Colonies there is recorded at the "Streights" the Lodge of Inhabitants⁴ meeting on the first Tuesdays at the Castle at Gibraltar; this was then No. 285 and has since lapsed. It is strange that among the Foreign Lodges there is in Spain another Lodge meeting on the same days as the Rock, Gibraltar, but this was then No. 30 and also lapsed before the Union.

¹ See p. 148 *ante*.

² Untraced.

³ Lane's *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges*, p. 62.

⁴ Not the Lodge at Gibraltar which now bears that name.

The Songs are not of great interest and seem to follow very closely the words and arrangement of *Ahiman Rezon*. There are a few omissions and alterations, and the toast after each song has been dropped. Two appear to be original, and Part III. of the Master's Song is printed alone. One seems to have been taken from the *Freemasons' Songs*, Edinburgh, 1758, but all the others are in *Ahiman Rezon*. The author uses the words of Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions* in denoting the original length of the Master's Song and the Wardens' Song. These words were paraphrased in Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751 and *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756, and were omitted from Entick's *Constitutions* of that year.

The identity of the author of *Multa Paucis* is a problem which many have tried to solve, but it would seem that no real success has been achieved. Let us examine a few of the suggestions, and see where we are led. It has been pointed out¹ that there are in the history some references to Ireland which are not from the English *Constitutions*, and an examination of these indicates that they are from Spratt's Irish *Constitutions* of 1751. This book would not be well known in England, and we might, therefore, be disposed to look for an Irishman. Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett has indicated² that the book resembles the *Constitutions* of both the 'Antients' and the 'Moderns', and suggests that we might look to the Provinces, where the tension between the rival factions was not so great as in the Metropolis. He indicates the West Country, where Irish influence was strong, and suggests Lancashire or the Bristol Channel. Personally, I am not convinced that we have to leave London to find the author; in fact, London seems to be the most probable place. The designer and engraver of the frontispiece were, I think, living in London, and would hardly be employed by a man two hundred miles away. An item in the history which occurred only a few months before publication suggests a London author, and this has been pointed out elsewhere.³ On the 12th August, 1762, a Prince was born at the very time when treasure, captured from the Spanish ship *Hermione*, was being carried in twenty wagons past St. James' Palace to the Tower. The author would seem to have been well acquainted with the details, but, of course, the account may have been taken from a newspaper. The author was evidently a Freemason, for in the dedication he speaks of "our noble Grand Master of England", and he also claims the Fraternity as "the best Judges of my Integrity as a Mason". We have to look then for an Irish Freemason living in London about 1760, and our thoughts naturally turn to Lawrence Dermott, the able and clever Grand Secretary of the 'Antient' Grand Lodge.

To some it may seem absurd that this man could have written and published a book for the use of his rivals, but I am not so sure that there is anything ridiculous in the suggestion. Dermott was clever, almost cunning at times, and having found that he could sell his own *Ahiman Rezon* profitably, what is more likely than that he should produce a book which would help his pocket at the expense of the much more numerous 'Moderns'? It might be argued that this would not be honest, but here again, I am not so sure. Handbooks were turned out right and left by 'Modern' Masons, directly in competition with the official *Constitutions*, and tended to reduce their sale. Why should not a man, who was not a 'Modern' Mason at all, do the same?

Let us for a moment assume that Dermott was the author, and note what evidence there is to support the theory. Of direct evidence we shall find none, but circumstantially there is quite a number of interesting points. The book will be found to resemble very closely the 1764 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, in

¹ *Miscellanea Latomorum*, iii., 115.

² *Ibid*, ix., 49.

³ *Ibid*, ix., 80.

fact the two might be regarded as companion volumes. The pages are about the same size, and both have engraved frontispieces which are by Larken. The engraver, remember, is probably Patrick Larkin, and so perhaps an Irishman and a friend of Dermott. A good many Irish names appear among the members of 'Antient' Lodge No. 31, of which Patrick Larkin was a member. If we examine the print we shall find small ornaments used for tailpieces, and five different varieties of these ornaments appear in both books. This indicates that they were turned out by the same printer, but I do not feel that this point should be unduly stressed, as several London printers no doubt obtained their material from the same type-founder. I should add that these same ornaments are found in Wellins Calcott's *Candid Disquisition* of 1769, which was printed by James Dixwell. It is possible, therefore, that Dixwell printed both *Multa Paucis* and the 1764 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*. It has already been stated that Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions* were used in producing *Multa Paucis*, and these in their turn were taken from the English edition of 1738. No doubt the author of *Multa Paucis* referred direct to the 1738 book, but I doubt whether he made great use of it. Gould suggests¹ that the author had studied the 1738 *Constitutions* "with some care", and mentions that he gave Lambell and Elliot correctly as Senior and Junior Wardens respectively in 1717; I am afraid he was not so careful as at first appears to be the case, for the name should be "Lamball" and not "Lambell". The title of the book suggests Lawrence Dermott who had a liking for foreign words, and listen to what the author has to say in the Dedication:—

I have, with Honour and Safety, compiled the following History of Masonry, not only from the antient Records of Lodges, but likewise from scriptural and other chronological Accounts of the most eminent and learned Professors of oriental and occidental Languages.

The wording of this certainly seems to suit the Grand Secretary of the 'Antients'. It has been suggested² that this statement is true, and that the author went to original sources for his information. I can see no reason to accept this, as it is unlikely that the author would acknowledge that he copied the *Constitutions*, and Dermott, we can be certain, would not admit plagiarism. It is true that no complaint of piracy came before Grand Lodge at this period, but all and sundry were copying the official publication, and had been doing so for years.

The secrecy which surrounds the publication is, I think, an important guide to the identity of the author. There is no imprint, no printer nor publisher mentioned, and on only one page³ is there any ornament by which the printing firm could be recognised. All this indicates an author who is most anxious to conceal his identity, and that of any individual through whom he can be traced. It has already been pointed out⁴ that the songs in *Multa Paucis* seem without doubt to have been taken direct from *Ahiman Rezon*. There is just one other point worth mentioning. In *Ahiman Rezon*, Dermott tells us that he wrote a complete history of the Craft, but he does not print it. No doubt he realised that he could give no satisfactory explanation of the advent of the 'Antients', and accordingly he invented a cock and bull story that his manuscript was eaten by a dog. If it were true that he had the history already written, no doubt he wanted to make use of it, and so I suggest that after it was brought up to date, and with the addition of some other items, it came to light in the guise of *Multa Paucis*.

¹ *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 280.

² *Miscellanea Latomorum*, iii., 137.

³ p. 112.

⁴ p. 151 *ante*.

SOME ENGLISH HANDBOOKS.

We shall now give some attention to a few publications which appeared at various times during the century, but are not particularly associated with other handbooks, nor of sufficient importance to call for a very detailed note. It will be seen that the earliest of these is dated 1769, and although there are a few Scottish and Irish books of earlier date, none that we shall have to notice was published before the second half of the century. There seems to be no doubt that from 1735, if we exclude the printed versions of the Old Charges, the *Pocket Companions* held the field undisputed for about twenty years.

In 1769, an unofficial version of the English *Constitutions* appeared in London with Title-page as follows:—

THE
CONSTITUTIONS
OF THE
Antient and Honourable FRATERNITY
OF
Free and Accepted MASONS.
CONTAINING
Their HISTORY, CHARGES, REGULATIONS, &c.
collected and digested
By Order of the GRAND LODGE, from their
old Records, faithful Traditions, and Lodge-
Books,
For the Use of the LODGES,
By JAMES ANDERSON, D.D.

A New EDITION, carefully revised, and conti-
nued to the present Time.

LONDON,
Printed for G. KEARSLEY, in Ludgate-Street.

MDCCLXIX.

In the Vulgar Year of Masonry 5769.

An edition also appeared in Ireland, but I believe that the London book was the original, and it is accordingly being considered with other English books, rather than with the Irish collection. This book would be rather large for the pocket, but it is considerably smaller than the official *Book of Constitutions*. We know nothing of G. Kearsly, the publisher, and he may not have been a Freemason. The Title-page certainly gives the impression that the book is official and written by Dr. Anderson. The contents are for the most part uninteresting, being copied from the 1767 edition of the *Constitutions*. The History up to February, 1767, is followed by the Charges and General Regulations and nine Songs, none of which is original. Then comes the List of Grand Masters and Provincial Grand Masters, and finally there is an Appendix which is not from the *Constitutions*. This brings the History up to May, 1769, and includes the Charter of Incorporation, which, of course, was never granted.¹ The Irish version of this book is identical, except that it has a new Title-page and a Frontispiece and other illustrations. The Title-page tells us that it is printed in Dublin "for Thomas Wilkinson in Winetavern-Street, the Corner of Cook-Street", and there is no date. Wilkinson is so well known as a publisher of other printers' remainders that we need have no hesitation in taking the

¹ See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 472.

London book to be the original. Perhaps Kearsly incurred the anger of the authorities, and so stopped selling the books, and sent his remainders to Ireland. Probably, in most cases, the Irish books were made up from sheets sent over from London, as Wilkinson inserted his own illustrations. There is one copy in the Library of Grand Lodge with no illustrations and both Title-pages, that of Wilkinson coming first. It looks as if the whole book was in this case sent over to Ireland and the second Title-page added there. Wilkinson's Title-page is very long, and gives a full description of the contents. Anderson's name is not mentioned, but the book is still said to be "By Order of the Grand Lodge". The illustrations are described as "a Copperplate Frontispiece, representing the Ceremony of a New Brother receiving the Word from the most respectable Master, in a full Assembly of the Fellow Craft, an accurate Plan of the Drawing on the Floor of a Lodge, and several other curious Copperplates". Sometimes the Frontispiece is not in its right place, and in some cases one or more of the illustrations are omitted. This is not surprising, but what one would expect from Wilkinson, who often illustrated his publications with any material that was handy. The Frontispiece is from the French, as also are some of the other plates. They indicate a way in which Continental customs may have crept into the Masonic ceremonial of Ireland.

In 1775, W. Meeson, described as a Master Mason, published *An Introduction to Free Masonry* at Birmingham. It was "for the use of the Fraternity; and none else", and is a very curious book, as it contains an attempt at moralising Euclid's geometry, and this defies all rational explanation. There is a Preface in which, as a footnote, the author very rightly "disclaims all pretensions to the qualifications of an elegant writer". The book begins with "The Preparation", and this is followed by "Part the First, The Apprentice only"; and "Part the Second, The Master or Journey-Man", all of which are moral discourses and of no great interest. "Part the Third, Of Moral Geometry, The Master only" contains the "Euclid" to which reference has already been made. For example, in the Definitions:—

A triangle is . . . an emblem of friendship.

An equilateral triangle is perfect friendship.

These are followed by Postulates and Axioms, and a few Propositions are "worked out" in the same way. "Part the Fourth, Miscellaneous" contains several odd items. There follows some more of his "mathematics", a perpetual almanack, and an explanation of hieroglyphics which is rather puerile, *e.g.*:—

An ass=a stupid fellow.

A tiger=cruelty.

After this, there are the usual Prayers and Short Charge, and then the Memento, which is an acrostic on the word MASONRY. This is not the acrostic which appears in some versions of the Old Charges, and I cannot trace it in any earlier publication. This is followed by Masonic Aphorisms and a set of By-Laws for a Lodge, taken apparently from Wellins Calcott's *Candid Disquisition*¹ of 1769. The Songs which follow are not new, but there is one associated with the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick, a well-known Irish society, which was not, so far as I know, published in England before this time. After the Songs, there are Toasts and a copy of the official Lodge List of 1774.

A Newcastle-upon-Tyne handbook appeared in 1777, which is very scarce and quite interesting. No doubt it was for local use, and probably the number printed was small. It is entitled *The Free-mason's Companion*, was printed by Bro. T. Angus, and sold by Bro. E. Humble. First, there is an advertisement

¹ See p. 160 *post*.

of an oration delivered on the 18th October, 1777, by Rev. J. Scot, D.D.,¹ at the dedication of the new hall at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, erected by the members of St. John's Lodge.² The advertisement mentions other articles sold by E. Humble, the bookseller, including " (just arrived) a new constructed fine toned Pianoforte, which, when properly fixed, resembles a new fashioned side table ". After the Title-page, there is " An Occasional Eulogium on Masonry ", which is three pages of verse. The List of Contents follows, and then there is a large collection of Songs, which forms the bulk of the book. A number of these are not Masonic, but all of them are clean, which, as Bro. Frank H. Marquis has pointed out³ is more than can be said of some other Masonic books of that period. Only a few are original. The Songs are followed by a Lodge List of 1777, which comprises no foreign Lodges. The English Lodges are in alphabetical order, those meeting in London by streets, and those in the country by the names of the towns. The last Lodge to be included is No. 504, meeting at Lockwood's coffee-house, York. This received a Dispensation to meet on the 20th June, 1777, and was constituted on the 7th July. A second Title-page refers to an address by the Rev. R. Green, given on the 5th November, 1776, to members of St. Nicholas Lodge, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.⁴ This address was on Masonic Duties, and was reprinted later by Dr. G. Oliver in his *Masonic Institutes*. The copy of the *Companion* in the Q.C. Library bears the name of Dr. Oliver on the first title-page, and these pages with the address are missing. Evidently they were torn out by him and sent to his printer. The address is followed by three hymns, two of which are by the same Rev. R. Green. They are not unattractive, and are well worth reproduction. Then we have a third Title-page referring to the Charge by the well-known actor, Bridge Frodsham.⁵ This Title-page bears the date, 1772, 5772, but this would seem to be an error, as the pagination is continuous right through the book. The Charge was given on the 18th January, 1762, " at his dismissal of the Chair " of Lodge No. 259,⁶ meeting at the Punch-Boll, in Stonegate, York. Bridge Frodsham was the first Master of this Lodge, which was warranted by the Moderns in 1761. It is stated by R. F. Gould⁷ that it probably caused the revival of the " Grand Lodge of all England " at York. There is first a dedication to the members of the Lodge, and the Charge follows. Then there is a List of Toasts beginning with " The King and the Craft ", and containing " The ancient Sons of Peace ", an expression which occurs regularly in the Irish editions of *Ahiman Rezon*, and the *Air Pocket Companion* of 1792. The book ends with another printer's advertisement.

Thomas Johnson, the Grand Tyler, and Tyler of several Ldges,⁸ seems to have been quite a character in the seventeen eighties, and in his off season he took to writing poetry. A poem by him is in *A.Q.C.*, vii., 52. His *Summer Productions or Progressive Melodies* started in 1788, and a volume appeared every year or two for some six years. The poetry is, for the most part, Masonic, and the books are illustrated by original aquatints. No. 1 has a portrait of the author, and there is an account of his life in No. 6. These could not be classed as handbooks, but in 1782 Johnson published by subscription his *Brief History of Freemasons*, which comes into that category. This is mentioned in Kenning's *Cyclopædia* and by Kloss, but I have not yet been able to find a copy of the first edition.⁹ The second edition of 1784 seems to be very similar. The Title-

¹ See J. Scott in *D.N.B.*

² No. 184 in the 1770 numeration.

³ *Masonic Bibliophile*, ii., 465.

⁴ No. 313 in the 1770 numeration.

⁵ See *D.N.B.* and *A.Q.C.*, ix., 17.

⁶ 1755 numeration.

⁷ *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 414.

⁸ His Trade Card as a Tyler is in the Broadley Collection.

⁹ Since this was written, a copy has been found in the Leicester Masonic Library.

page describes the author "Clerk of Charlotte-Street Chapel, Pimlico; Grand Tyler, Tyler to the Somerset-House, Friendship, Britannic and Royal Lodges, and Janitor, to the Grand Royal Arch-Chapter". The Frontispiece is one of twelve aquatints by the author. There is a Preface, in which he states that the history in the *Constitutions* cannot be retained in the memory, and for that reason, he has issued an abridged version. The book is said to be by permission of the Grand Officers, "who have honoured it by their subscriptions, and by the Masters of sundry Lodges". There is a note to the second edition, stating that the price has been reduced. The author omitted to enter his first edition at Stationer's Hall, and a Brother Tyler had reproduced all the songs except one in a song-book of his own. Consequently, he cannot expect it to sell at its former price, but we have no idea now of the cost of either edition. There follow some poems and acrostics, the first being "An address to Brother Shepherd, Senior Janitor to the Grand Royal Arch Chapter", the culprit who pirated his work. We are told that "The cunning Fox points out the treacherous Shepherd". Then there is a fable of Aesop, implying that Shepherd lost his employment. In the book there is another poem in which he forgives the culprit. The minutes of the 'Modern' Grand Chapter of the 12th January, 1785, record:—

The Comps. Willett, Ayrton, Paiba and Faden all accepted their former Offices and the two Janitors, Johnson & Shepherd were appointed as before.

They were reappointed in January, 1786, and we can suppose, therefore, that Shepherd really was forgiven and the offence forgotten. After these poems there is an Apology to those Lodges which he has omitted to mention. The History from the creation follows, this being a very abbreviated version. This part of the book includes a Description of the Tomb of Hiram Abiff, illustrated by one of Johnson's aquatints. He then gives us a Description of the Christian System of Masonry taken from the New Testament, which is treated in much the same way as the Old Testament in the case of the traditional history with which we are familiar. There are three Acrostics in this part of the book, and finally more Poems and Songs. Many of the latter are old friends, but about half of those in the book are original, and there are a number which are not Masonic.

John Cole,¹ who published some copies of Stephen Jones' *Masonic Miscellanies*,² brought out a book entitled the *Masonic Museum* at the end of the century, which deserves a mention, although it is little more than a song book. Cole was both a 'Modern' and an 'Antient' Mason, which, of course, was not an uncommon state of affairs at that time. The book was published in conjunction with one John Roach, who does not seem to have been a Freemason, but made a living by the sale of "odd volumes and indelicate prints",³ and had been in prison in 1795 for publishing an immoral work. The Frontispiece is a portrait of H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales, Grand Master. An engraved Title-page tells us that the book was issued in 1799, that it contains songs "Sung in all the Respectable Lodges", and the price is one shilling. There is a Dedication to the Grand Master with the information that there are "Songs, calculated to inspire hilarity", and after a List of the Contents, the Songs follow. These are collected from various sources, and probably none is original.⁴ The book finishes with a List of the Lodges of Instruction, as in *Masonic Miscellanies*, 1797, with a few additional.

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xx., 6.

² See p. 171 *post*.

³ *D.N.B.*

⁴ The only two that I cannot find in any earlier Masonic publication begin, *All you who love order attend to my song* and *The Lodge being form'd* respectively.

SOME SCOTTISH AND IRISH HANDBOOKS.

There is but one Scottish book which has come to my notice, which can properly be included, although Lists of Lodges are the only feature which prevent it from being a song book pure and simple. The Title-page tells us all about the book and reads as follows:—

A
COLLECTION
OF
Free Masons Songs:
CONTAINING
SEVERAL NEW SONGS
Never before published.
WITH
Complete Lists of all the REGULAR LODGES both
in *England* and *Scotland*, down to the year 1758.
For the use of the LODGES.
By JAMES CALLENDAR, M.M.
EDINBURGH:
Printed by Br. A. DONALDSON and COMPANY.
For the AUTHOR.
Sold by Br. G. PATON, *Edinburgh*; and by Mess. WIL-
SON & DURHAM, at Plato's head, in the Strand, *London*.
MDCCLVIII.

[Price, stitched in blue paper, One Shilling.]

Alexander Donaldson published a *Pocket Companion* in Edinburgh in 1763,¹ but he does not appear to have printed it himself. In this case, he is the actual printer. The Dedication is addressed from St. David's Lodge, Edinburgh, to the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free Masons. It tells us that there are "several new pieces never before published", but this is an exaggeration, as there are only three original songs, two of which are by Bro. Robert Colvill, of St. David's Lodge, Edinburgh. The English Lodge List is headed by the name of Lord Aberdour, who was Grand Master at the time. The last Lodge recorded is No. 223, dating from the 25th March, 1757. It met at the Dove and Olive Branch in the parish of Lawrence, Norwich, and is now No. 100. The Scottish List is headed by the name of the Earl of Galloway, Grand Master, and the last entry is St. Andrew's Lodge at Perth, No. 92, which dates from 1758.

The first Irish book for examination is very rare, and I have only succeeded in tracing copies in the Wallace Heaton Collection and the Masonic Library in Dublin. This is *A Discourse upon Masonry*, published by George Minty in Dublin in 1757. It contains a collection of miscellaneous items, only one of which, namely, the Discourse itself, is really Masonic. It is not strictly a handbook, therefore, but we must give it some attention, as there is a later edition which has that qualification. The Title-page gives a full description of the contents² and states that the Discourse was spoken by the author when he was Master of a Lodge in England in the year 1742. The Dedication is to the Rt. Hon. Thomas Southwell, who was Grand Master in Ireland in 1743. The book was published by subscription to raise funds for the author. Apparently he published all that he could find, including the Discourse, which he gave fifteen years earlier. The subject of this is taken from the Bible³:—

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 197.

² See *A.Q.C.*, ix., 104.

³ Amos, i., 9.

Thus saith the Lord, For Three Transgressions of Tyrus and for Four I will not turn away the Punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole Captivity to Edom, and remembered not the Brotherly Covenant.

The "Brotherly Covenant" is taken to be the bond of Freemasonry, and the Discourse is an absurd attempt to trace the existence of the Craft of Masonry among certain Biblical characters. It would seem from the date of the Dedication that it was originally intended to publish the Discourse much earlier, and it may be that the sheets for this part of the book were printed about 1743. The Discourse ends on page 16; and, in order not to start a third "signature", much smaller type has been used on that page, which also has no catchword. Apparently Minty wanted funds in 1757, and then decided to issue by subscription his Discourse of 1742 in book form together with anything else that he could find handy. There are "Directions for using the Small-Sword", and these are followed by "Some Curiosities in Architect, etc."; then "The Glass-maker's Memoirs", which purports to give an account of the author's life. Born about 1700 in Stourbridge, he started with his father in the clothing trade, but later was apprenticed to a gunsmith. Before his indentures were finished he went to Frome and made a living by buying goods for his widowed mother, who was looking after the clothing shop, while at the same time he earned something as a schoolmaster. Returning to Stourbridge, he was employed by a glass-maker, and soon became manager. He married a widow some twenty years older than himself. Before long he gave up his work, started a new school, and at the same time dabbled in a number of businesses, eventually going back to glass-making. In 1746, Edmond Shanly, a Freemason, whom he had met in Dublin when on a visit some years before, wrote and suggested that he should go there to manage a glassworks. He went, and probably lived in Ireland for the rest of his life. The glassworks business was a failure, and he finally reverted to his earlier profession of schoolmaster. The English Lodge to which he belonged was probably in Stourbridge, and in that case it must have been No. 104, meeting at the Talbot in the High Street. The book ends with a List of Subscribers.

The Masonic part of Minty's book, that is to say, the Discourse upon Masonry, reappeared with a great number of songs later under a very verbose Title-page:—

A
DISCOURSE
UPON
MASONRY

As spoken by the AUTHOR when MASTER of a
LODGE in *ENGLAND*, in the Year 1772, from
the Words of the Prophet AMOS, Ch. i., v. 9.
In which DISCOURSE is set forth MASONRY as it
stood in the Days of *Noah*, and from his Generation
down to this present Time.

To which is added,
FRATERNAL MELODY,
ADAPTED FOR THE
MEMBERS

OF THE
Royal Arch and Knights Templars.

CONSISTING OF
ORIGINAL ODES, CANTATAS, AND SONGS,
For the Use of the MEMBERS of
The Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of
Free and Accepted Masons.

The most noble Order of BUCKS.
 The Honorable Order of SELECT ALBIONS.
 The Honorable LUMBER TROOP.
 The Ancient Corporation of STROUD-GREEN.
 The Ancient Family of LEECHES.
 The Worthy Court of DO-RIGHT.
 The Free and Easy Counsellors under the
 CAULIFLOWER, &c. &c. &c.
 Adapted to the most celebrated Ballad Tunes; and illus-
 trated with Annotations, and Anecdotes of some of the
 ORDERS, with Songs, Toasts and Sentiments.

DUBLIN:

Printed for the AUTHOR, and sold by T. WILKINSON,
 No. 40, Winetavern-Street.

It will be noted that it is stated to be printed for the author, but it is quite likely that the latter knew nothing about it, and that the book was published on his own account by T. Wilkinson, who at the same time incorporated and pirated Riley's *Fraternal Melody* of 1773. The Songs in this edition are from Riley's book, except the last eight, all of which are in the *Freemason's Companion*, Newcastle, 1777. Two of these are by a Brother of St. Nicholas' Lodge, which was a Newcastle Lodge, and there is no doubt, therefore, that they were first in the Newcastle book, and copied from that book by the editor of the *Discourse*. It is probable, therefore, that this book was published shortly after the *Freemason's Companion*, say, in 1778. At this date, Wilkinson was established at 40 Winetavern Street, which agrees with the imprint. It is interesting to note that this second edition states that the date on which the address was given was 1772, instead of 1742. Probably this was an intentional error on the part of Wilkinson, who would not like a part of his book to appear to be thirty-five years out of date.

In 1789, a very interesting handbook appeared in Cork, compiled by John Donovan and entitled *Sublime Friendship Delineated*. This is dedicated to Dr. Joseph Rogers, Provincial Grand Master of Munster, who was in trouble with the Grand Lodge of Ireland in the following year, and was removed from office by the Grand Master in 1791. After a short Preface, there is an expression of thanks to the subscribers, many of whom are mentioned by name. Then comes an Essay on Friendship, which is the biggest item in the book, but is not of any particular interest. There follows a short account of ten different Orders of Knighthood, including two different Orders "of the Star". Then we have an article on the "Essens; or antient Jewish Masons", which is probably from some contemporary article. "They are long lived, so that most of them live a hundred years, which I judge is by their well ordered life and temperance". The rest of the book is nearly all of a Masonic nature. The chapter "Of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons" contains part of the History in England and the Leland-Locke MS. from Scott's *Pocket Companion*. There is a History in Ireland, which seems to be abbreviated from Kearsly or Wilkinson's *Constitutions* of 1769, and then an account of Persecutions in different parts of Europe. This is from the "Apology" in Scott's *Pocket Companion*. The next chapter contains the well-known General Charge by Rev. Charles Brockwell, who was His Majesty's Chaplain in Boston, New England. It was given in Boston on the 27th December, 1749, and printed there in the following year under the title *Brotherly Love Recommended*. It appears in Scott's *Pocket Companion*, and Donovan probably copied it from there. Then we have the Charter of Incorporation from

Kearsly's *Constitutions*.¹ There follows a description of the Arms of the 'Antients' from the 1764 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, and an account of the difference between the two organisations, taken from the same source. It is interesting to find this in an Irish Masonic book. At this point there are printed the laws of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. Eleven pages are taken up by subscribers' names, and it would seem that the book was a profitable venture, as 606 subscribers took 1588 copies. Esq. is differentiated from Mr. and a number have titles. William Warren Esq. and Mr. Thomas Walker each had 100 books, while Master Eyre Evans, Master Joseph Gubbins and Miss Sophia Butler took 21 each. Lastly, there are a few corrections, and the note "In many places the indicative for the subjunctive mood, and a few other inconsiderable errors".

WELLINS CALCOTT—A CANDID DISQUISITION.

A much more ponderous book than any that have yet been discussed is *A Candid Disquisition*, edited by Wellins Calcott² in 1769. This contained 243 pages and would, therefore, require a large pocket, but it has all the features of a handbook, and was the forerunner of Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry* and Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. Wellins Calcott was a native of Cheshire and author of *Thoughts Moral and Divine*, which was published in 1756, with other editions later. He is described in the book under notice as a Past Master, and he belonged to the 'Moderns' and also to the Scottish Constitution.

The Title-page is uninteresting, the printer being Bro. James Dixwell, of St. Martin's Lane. The book is dedicated by permission to the Duke of Beaufort, the Grand Master, but this was personal, and it was given no official sanction by Grand Lodge. A list of subscribers shows that there were well over a thousand copies sold in this way. Most of them are from London and the West Country, where the addresses to Lodges, which were printed in the book, were given. The Introduction is on the object of Freemasonry, and we are told that "men must of necessity form associations for their comfort and defence", and a little further on:—

They who move in a higher sphere, have indeed a larger province wherein to do good; but those of an inferior degree will be as eminently distinguished in the mansions of bliss, (if they move regularly, if they are *useful* members of society) as the highest

and so on. The Disquisition which follows, is in four chapters and is on the "origin, nature and design" of the Institution, and calls for little comment. It contains part of Anderson's history, and there are some remarks on the importance of secrecy from *Ahiman Rezon*.

The Disquisition is followed by an Appendix which includes the history of the Craft in England with the Leland-Locke MS., a list of Grand Masters, Deputy Grand Masters and Provincial Grand Masters, all from the 1767 *Constitutions*, and an account of Masonry in Scotland with the Scottish Grand Masters, probably taken from one of the *Pocket Companions*. Then there is a statement that Scottish Lodges always meet in their own premises, a very desirable practice. This is given as a reason for supporting the Grand Master's scheme for building Freemasons' Hall. There is a letter from James Galloway,³ a Past Master, on the same subject. He states that Lodge rooms abroad are often magnificent, and gives a description of the banquetting hall of the Lodge at Marseilles. A translation of the Latin used in this description is added at the end of the book.

¹ See p. 153 *ante*.

² See *D.N.B.*

³ He was a friend of Thomas Dunckerley, and helped Chev. B. Ruspini in the foundation of the Masonic Girls' School.

The next feature is a second Title-page for the "Duties of a Free-Mason, in several Charges". There are seven of these Charges given to six Lodges in the Provinces, but they call for little comment. The first was in 1769 to Lodge No. 429 at the Castle Inn, Marlborough, by Thomas Dunckerley, the Master. In 1765, John Whitmarsh, who was the first Master of St. Geroge's Lodge, No. 315, Taunton, gave the next Charge on resigning the Chair. The third Charge was given at Bath in 1768 to the Perfect Friendship Lodge, No. 287, by Bro. J. S. Gaudry. In 1767, Wellins Calcott gave two Charges to the Palladian Lodge, No. 290,¹ at Hereford, and both are reproduced. The first of these is an address to a new Master, and contains part of the addresses given to-day to the Master and Wardens after Installation. The second address is to the Lodge after the Officers have been invested. Alexander Shedden gave the next Charge in 1767 to the members of the Union Lodge, No. 372, at the Union Punch House, Princes Street, Bristol, when he was Master. The last Charge of the series was given in Chelmsford in 1767 by Rev. Henry Chalmers, Past Master, to the Perfect Friendship Lodge, No. 308.

The next item is an address given "immediately after the Expulsion of a Member who had been repeatedly, but in vain, admonished for the illiberal practice of backbiting and slandering his Brethren". This is followed by the Short Charge after initiation, which first appeared in William Smith's *Pocket Companion* of 1735, and then there is a Charge on Initiation by Thomas French, who was Grand Secretary for a few months in 1768, but resigned on becoming a bankrupt. Part of this is now incorporated in the Entered Apprentice's Charge. Then follow the Prayers as in later editions of the *Pocket Companions*.

Some notes on suggested By-Laws for Lodges are of interest, and two sets of these are given. In accordance with the custom of the time, the Master is elected twice in the year. An initiation fee of about £2 is suggested, and a Lodge visitor is required to pay 1/6, or if he be only of the Lodge of St. John,² the fee is 2/-. Fines up to 5/- were incurred by breaking a by-law, but it cost only 2/6 to swear, or come to the Lodge intoxicated. The Lodge was apparently closed after supper as

The master shall be acquainted by the S.W. when it is ——— o'Clock, and shall immediately proceed to close the lodge . . . to prevent uneasiness to our relatives at home, and to preserve the œconomy of our families.

The following seems to imply that all present had a drink at the expense of the Lodge to toast a Candidate:—

All liquors drank at supper on lodge nights, shall be charged to the lodge, but liquors called for before lodge hours, unless on account of makings, &c., shall not be charged to the lodge. No person shall be permitted to sup in the lodge room during lodge hours.

The By-Laws are followed by the Oratorio *Solomon's Temple*, from *Ahiman Rezon*, and then there are ten Songs, a very modest collection, all of which are well known.

In 1786, an anonymous book entitled *The Principles and Practice of Masonry* appeared. It is stated on the Title-page to be "Selected from the best Authors", but almost the whole book is taken from the *Candid Disquisition*. The only other items are the Oration given at the Dedication of the new Freemasons' Hall in 1776 and a Lodge List. The latter is only a portion of the official list, as it gives the country Lodges in full, but only twelve which met in the London district.

¹ Now No. 120.

² i.e., Unattached.

Another edition of this book appeared a few years later priced at 2s. 6d., and as the Lodge List is taken from the *Freemason's Calendar* for 1793, we can assume that that is the date of publication. There are 236 Lodges, but the list again is incomplete; seven Military Lodges are included, and only seventeen in London.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON—*THE SPIRIT OF MASONRY*.

The next book which calls for attention is *The Spirit of Masonry*. This was published in London in 1775 by William Hutchinson, and attracted a good deal of notice. It contains nothing but "Moral and Elucidatory" lectures, and so would not qualify as a handbook, but it must be included, as later editions embody other material which gives them that character. The book was recommended to the fraternity in the printed proceedings of Grand Lodge, and so had official sanction.

Hutchinson was born and lived at Barnard Castle, County Durham, where he practiced as a solicitor. He had some fame as an antiquarian, and in that capacity wrote several books, the best known being *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*. He was Master for several years of the Concord Lodge at Barnard Castle,¹ and wrote *The Spirit of Masonry* for the members.

The book has an engraved Frontispiece drawn by the author, which depicts both sides of a Gnostic jewel from the British Museum. The Title-page is engraved, and gives the name of the Lodge of Concord; and Bro. John Lane, who states in his *Masonic Records* that it was not named until 1785, evidently made a mistake. The book is published by J. Wilkie and W. Goldsmith; the former also published the second edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* in the same year. The Title-page has the figure of an irradiated Pentagram with a letter "G" in the centre, and an eye within the letter. There is a reference to this in the text of Hutchinson's ninth lecture.

After a Sanction by Lord Petre, the Grand Master, a short Preface, Dedication to the Grand Master and List of Contents, fourteen Lectures follow. These give a spiritual interpretation of Freemasonry, and some of the symbolism is peculiar. A distinct Christian tendency is apparent.

The second edition appeared twenty years later, that is to say in 1795, and this was printed in Carlisle. It is a very much larger book than the London edition, and much of the additional material comes from *The Principles and Practice of Masonry*, which in its turn was copied largely from Wellins Calcott's *Candid Disquisition*.

There is no Frontispiece to this edition, but the same engraved Title-page is used with an amended imprint. The Sanction and Preface are unchanged, and there is a Dedication to Benevolence. Possibly the idea was suggested by the 1787 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, which was dedicated to Charity. Fourteen lectures follow as in the earlier book, and the rest is new.

A number of Addresses and Charges come from *Principles and Practice*. These are followed by some local items, the first of which is an Oration given on the 19th June, 1773, at the laying of the Foundation Stone of Rookby Bridge on the river Tees by the members of the Barnard Castle Lodge. The Brethren assembled in a tent, "the Tyler and Deacons encircling the tent, to keep it private, and guard off the populace". Then there is an Oration by Hutchinson given on the 16th June, 1778, at the Dedication of Freemasons' Hall at Sunderland, and a Discourse given by Rev. J. Hart in 1772, when the foundation stone of the new bridge at Durham was laid. We then get back to more general and

¹ No. 406 in the 1770 numeration.

better known items. The Leland-Locke MS. and a Discourse on keeping secrecy are from the *Candid Disquisition*, or perhaps Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. This is followed by the Act of the Associate Synod in Scotland against Freemasonry, and the examination of the Act. These were in the *Edinburgh Pocket Companion* of 1765. Then there is Charles Leslie's "Vindication of Masonry" as in that same *Pocket Companion*, or perhaps this also may have come from the *Illustrations of Masonry*. Some Moral Observations which follow I have not traced in any other book, and they may be original. Then there is the usual ceremony for Masonic funerals, and Lodge Lists for both England and Scotland. The book ends with a List of Subscribers, many of whom were in Scotland. This book acquired considerable popularity, and there were more editions in the following century.

WILLIAM PRESTON—*ILLUSTRATIONS OF MASONRY*.

There is no doubt that William Preston¹ stands out as one of the great Masonic characters of the eighteenth century. His skill as an exponent of the ritual, his system of lectures, his troubles with the authorities of Grand Lodge, gave him a reputation far and wide; but the book, which was published in 1772 and subsequently, is probably his greatest claim to fame. The first edition of *Illustrations of Masonry* was a modest volume culled from various sources, and is a real jumble of Masonic information. Preston was thirty years old at the time, and a Past Master, but he had not yet joined the Lodge of Antiquity, nor was he yet installed in the Grand Secretary's office. The later editions were more pretentious, and one can almost trace the author's Masonic history from the alterations which were made from one edition to another. There were twelve editions of the *Illustrations* in Preston's lifetime, and altogether, including those in foreign languages, there have probably been more than twenty editions of the book.

The original publication of 1772 was sold for 3/- sewed, or 4/- bound, and about one-third is an account of a Gala which Preston organised for the recital of his Lectures. The book had the official sanction of the Grand Master, and so was the first publication, apart from the *Book of Constitutions*, which bore the official *imprimatur*. No doubt this sanction gave a great deal of publicity to the book. The same patronage was accorded to the 1775 edition, and the latter was advertised for sale in the Grand Lodge Proceedings for 13th November, 1776. Preston became Deputy or Assistant Secretary to the Grand Lodge in 1775, and in that capacity he edited the Appendix to the *Constitutions*, which was advertised in the same Proceedings. The sanction to both these editions was signed by the Grand Officers, who certified that they have "perused and do recommend" the book. On the 27th January, 1777, the Lodge of Fortitude, No. 6, petitioned Grand Lodge to discontinue the sanction, as the book tended to disclose Masonic secrets. The Master was ordered to attend the Committee of Charity on the 9th April, 1777, to prove the Charge, but, according to the Minutes of the Meeting on that date, the charge was found to be "groundless, and undeserving the notice of Grand Lodge". The book must have acquired a considerable reputation before many years lapsed, and the author is not shy of directing attention to the success of his venture, for, referring to the *Illustrations* in 1778, he wrote²:—

the publication of which, I have been credibly informed, has attracted the attention of some of the first geniuses of the age.

¹ See *D.N.B.*

² *State of Facts*, p. 40, footnote.

A description of Preston's first edition will be useful. The Title-page is quite short and gives no description of the contents. The imprint reads:—

LONDON:
Printed for the Author;
And sold by Brother J. Williams, opposite S^t.
Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street.

MDCCLXXII.

The Dedication to Lord Petre is followed by the Sanction, signed by the Grand Master and his Officers. There is a note with the *Errata*, instructing the binder to insert the plate illustrating the Gala opposite page 32, where it is described. In some copies this has not been done, but the plate is used as a frontispiece.

The Gala was organised by Preston as an occasion for the demonstration of his system of Lectures for the first degree, and these were interspersed with addresses and songs. It was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand on the 21st May, 1772, and apparently the Grand Master attended. Captain George Smith, of whom we shall hear more later, acted as a Steward. The room was arranged as for a Lodge, but toasts were given, and all who were present had tables in front of them for liquid refreshment. They appear to have had supper afterwards in another room. The author tells us in the Preface that it was originally his intention to print his Oration at the Gala only, but he decided later to give a full description for reference, as it was expected to make an annual event of it. As the first degree Lectures were given on this occasion, Preston probably intended to organise Festivals for the other degrees at a later date, but it seems that these were never held. The inclusion of so much material necessitated a book instead of a pamphlet, so Preston thereupon decided that he might as well give some additional information, much of which had not been published previously. It is stated in the Introduction that he put the Lectures into proper form for working in Lodges, and that at every Lodge meeting he either read a charge himself or ordered one to be read.

The Proceedings at the Gala are described in the book, and these include some Charges from the *Book of Constitutions*, Songs, notes on the first degree Lectures, and the Oration given by Preston. This account is followed by some remarks on the First Lecture, also by Preston. Then there is "A Vindication of Masonry" by Charles Leslie, from the *Edinburgh Pocket Companion* of 1765, but this has been rewritten. The Leland-Locke MS. follows, and there are some remarks on the subject by Preston. These include the circumstances leading to Henry VI.'s Act suppressing the Institution, and Judge Coke's opinion on that Act. There is a note on the keeping of secrets, the substance of which was in *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756, and this part of the book closes with three pages of "Eulogium", which is, apparently, another of Preston's ventures.

The Appendix, which follows, is rather more original, and some of this may have been supplied by Captain George Smith, for, in the Preface, Preston thanks him for the use of his notes. There are, in the first place, Charges for the three degrees. The Charge for the first degree is not the same as that in the *Candid Disquisition* of 1769, and is inscribed to the Hon. Charles Dillon. The other Charges are given "at initiation" into the second and third degrees. The usual Prayers follow, and then the Declaration of a Candidate, which is, it seems, new. Then we have the Constitution of a new Lodge given more fully than in the 1767 *Constitutions*. First, there is the form of Petition. This has to be signed and recommended by three Masters of Regular Lodges; the Deputy Grand Master then gives a Dispensation for the petitioners to meet as a Lodge for forty days, or until such time as it shall be constituted, or the authority withdrawn. This is followed by the Constitution by the Grand Master, and the Consecration by

a Chaplain. All this is much the same as the ceremony of to-day. Incense is used, but no corn, wine, oil or salt, all of which came from the Dedication ceremony later. The Installation of the Master states that the Charges and Regulations are to be read by the Secretary; first the Charges and then the Regulations. These are not here printed in full, but they will be found in the second edition. There is no obligation for the Master, but he is at once invested and proceeds to address the Wardens and Brethren with words which do not differ much from the familiar phraseology of to-day. After this ceremony, there are some notes on Masonic Funerals, which I have not found in any previous work, and the book finishes with remarks on building a hall and a description of the Lodge at Marseilles taken from Calcott's *Candid Disquisition*.

In 1775, the second edition of the *Illustrations* was published by J. Wilkie, No. 71, St. Paul's Churchyard. This is a larger book and contains a number of Songs, but no reference is made in it to the Gala, which had evidently been forgotten three years after the event had taken place. After the Dedication and Sanction, which remains unchanged except for the names of the Grand Officers, Preston has printed a letter from the King's Arms Lodge, No. 116, at Falmouth, acknowledging his "masterly work". The "Vindication" has been enlarged to include the Oration which Preston gave at the Gala, and after the "Eulogium" are some "Remarks on Masonry", which come from the end of the account of that Festival in the first edition. Then follow some original Notes on Opening and Closing a Lodge, the Prayers, Charges from the *Constitutions*, and the contents of the three Lectures of the degrees. These include the Declarations of the Candidate, Prayers and Charges. These Lectures were also printed separately with Songs at the end. The book continues with the Constitution of a Lodge as in the earlier edition. Preston joined, and became Master of, the Lodge of Antiquity in 1774, and references to this old Lodge now begin to appear. In the Installation ceremony, a footnote gives an extract from the Lodge of Antiquity MS. The Leland-Locke MS. is followed by a History of the Craft in Britain from the time of the Druids, which is on the usual lines, but is not from the *Constitutions*. This History includes the note about the Act of Henry VI. and Judge Coke's opinion, as well as the description of the Hall at Marseilles. Also, there is a reference to "the old lodge of St. Paul's, over which Sir Christopher presided, during the building of that structure". This was in accordance with the Lodge of Antiquity tradition. The book finishes with Songs, most of which were well known, but there are four which I cannot find in any previous Masonic work.

William Preston was expelled from the Craft in 1779,¹ and had no standing when G. Wilkie published the next edition in 1781. There is now no official Sanction, and the letter from Falmouth has been omitted. The Preface, dated April, 1781, states that there are several new articles in the book, but there is not really much that has not already been noted. The book has been divided into four sections apart from the Songs. First, there is the "Vindication", altered and abbreviated and followed by the "Eulogium". Then the Lectures without much change, but we might note that the origin of the Corinthian order of architecture appears for the first time as in the Craft Lectures of to-day. There is also a description of the Dedication of a Masonic Hall. This is taken from the ceremony used at the opening of Freemasons' Hall on the 23rd May, 1776. The description of the Funeral in the earlier editions had a footnote with the words:—

. . . it is enacted "That no regular mason do attend any funeral, or other *public* procession, clothed with the badges and ensigns of the Order . . ."

¹ See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., p. 426.

Preston has now given us a second footnote explaining the first:—

By *public* procession is meant a general convention of masons for the purpose of making a public appearance.

The original footnote is also much longer and the subject is more fully developed. All this is of interest, as it was a small public procession which got Preston into trouble with the authorities. The third part of the book contains the Leland-Locke MS., and the last is the History, somewhat altered and brought up to date. The description of the Hall at Marseilles is now omitted. Much of this History is extremely interesting, and I have selected a few of the more striking items. Referring to Inigo Jones as Grand Master of England, there is a footnote:—

The Grand Master in the North having assumed the Title of Grand Master of all England, may probably have been occasioned by the Title of Grand Master Mason of England having been at this time conferred on Inigo Jones, and which Title the Grand Masters in the South bear to this day.

No doubt this is added because Preston, when expelled from Grand Lodge, had joined the Grand Lodge “of All England” at York. In referring to the building of St. Paul’s Cathedral, there is a new footnote:—

The mallet with which this foundation stone was laid, is now in the possession of the Lodge of Antiquity in London, and preserved there as a great curiosity.

This mallet is still owned by the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2. There is a long footnote on the four old Lodges. It is stated that only one of these is now extant, namely, No. 1, the old Lodge of St. Paul:—

that Lodge now acts independent by virtue of its immemorial constitution. To resent this measure of the Lodge of Antiquity, the Grand Lodge have accepted under their banner a few of the expelled Members of that Lodge, and honoured them with the title of The Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1 . . . The Lodge, No. 2 . . . has been extinct above fifty years . . . The Lodge, No. 3 . . . has been dissolved many years . . . the members . . . came under a *new* constitution . . . Thus they inconsiderately renounced their former rank, and every ancient privilege which they derived from their immemorial Constitution. The Lodge, No. 4 . . . the members of this Lodge tacitly agreed to a renunciation of their rights as one of the four original Lodges, by openly avowing a declaration of their Master in Grand Lodge “That they put themselves entirely under the Authority of the Grand Lodge; claimed no distinct privilege, by virtue of an immemorial Constitution, but precedence of rank . . .”

The History contains a long account of the Grand Lodge of York¹ with which Preston was affiliated. Much is made of the supposed breach between the Grand Lodges of London and York, various reasons being given,² which are discussed by Gould in his *History of Freemasonry*.³ A long statement in this edition⁴ regarding the irregularities of 1739 is of interest. In speaking of the events of 1771, there is a note which is new, and is remarkable in view of recent events:—

The increase of foreign Lodges occasioned the institution of a new Office, a Provincial Grand Master for foreign Lodges in general . . .

¹ 229 *et seq.*

² pp. 232, 252, 258.

³ ii., 412.

⁴ p. 259.

Another new appointment likewise took place during his Grace's administration, the office of General Inspectors or Provincial Grand Masters for Lodges within the Bills of Mortality; but the majority of the Lodges in London disapproving of this appointment, their authority was soon after withdrawn.

The book ends with Songs, some of which are new. This edition of the *Illustrations* is really the most interesting of all, and some of it was incorporated by Northouck in his *Book of Constitutions* of 1784.

The same publisher issued a new edition of the *Illustrations* in 1788. There are a number of small alterations, and some of these are of interest, but the book as a whole is not much changed. At this time, the two Lodges of Antiquity¹ were still in existence, and William Preston had not been restored to his Masonic privileges. For the first time, he states on the Title-page that he is a "Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity acting by Immemorial Constitution", and most of the alterations in the text call attention to the inherent privileges of that Lodge. For example, there is a new footnote regarding petitions for new Lodges:—

This mode of applying by petition to the Grand Master, and in consequence of which a warrant to meet as a regular Lodge is granted, commenced only in the year 1718; previous to which time Lodges were occasionally convened, and empowered, by inherent privileges vested in the fraternity at large, to meet and act under the direction of some able architect; and their proceedings being approved by the majority of the brethren convened in that district where the Lodge was held, were deemed constitutional. By such an authority the Lodge of Antiquity in London now holds, and the authority of that Lodge has been repeatedly confirmed and acknowledged.

In the Foundation stone ceremony, "The Constitutions carried by the Master of the oldest Lodge" has a startling footnote:—

In allusion to the Constitutions of the Order being originally vested in that Officer, who is always considered as the general Governor and Director of the Fraternity, in case of the resignation or death of the Grand Master.

Preston was Master of the Lodge of Antiquity (Preston's Lodge) in 1788, and he was claiming, therefore, to have the authority of the Grand Master, in case of the demise of that Officer. The History in this book contains a good deal more regarding the Lodge of Antiquity affair than appeared in the previous edition. The Songs are very little changed, one has been omitted, and there are two new items, one of which seems to be original.

When the 1792 edition was published, the troubles in the Lodge of Antiquity were at an end and Preston had been restored to his Masonic privileges. He tells us in an Advertisement in the book that it has accordingly been enlarged. This would seem to be the fifth edition, but it is termed the eighth, and we must wonder, therefore, whether there are three missing editions which may at some future time come to light. As the English editions are well known, it hardly seems likely that any were so small as to be of great rarity, but it is possible that remainders of the 1781 or 1788 books may have been put on the market at a later date and considered as separate editions, as in neither of these cases was any edition number printed on the title-page. In the *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*, Bro. Albert G. Mackey mentions an edition of 1776, but this has not been traced. There were German editions in 1776² and 1780, and these

¹ See *Records of the Lodge of Antiquity*, No. 2.

² Perhaps the one that Mackey had in mind.

may be two of those that are wanted to complete the number. All the alterations that are of interest are in the History, which now deals with Europe, India and Scotland. There is a good deal more about Sir Christopher Wren and his connection with the Lodge of Antiquity.¹ For example, in a footnote²:—

It appears from the records of the Lodge of Antiquity, that Mr Wren at this time attended the meetings regularly, and that, during his presidency, he presented to the lodge, three mahogany candlesticks, at that time truly valuable, which are still preserved, and highly prized, as a *memento* of the esteem of the honorable donor.

Also, in speaking of Gabriel Cibber and Edward Strong, it states in a footnote³:—

Both these gentlemen were members of the old lodge of St. Paul with sir Christopher Wren.

Preston, it will be remembered, was appointed Assistant Grand Secretary in 1775, and in this edition, referring to the history of that period, he makes the most of the powers given to that officer, for we read⁴:—

This additional increase of the business of the Society induced the Grand Lodge to appoint an Officer, *pro tempore*, as an assistant to the Grand Secretary, who should hold equal rank and power with himself in Grand Lodge.

The Songs in this edition call for little notice, but four new ones are included, two of which are by Northouck.

The so-called ninth edition of 1796 acknowledges the help of Northouck's *Constitutions* of 1784. By this time, the troubles in the Lodge of Antiquity were completely settled, and the account in the History is now much shorter. Preston here states that he abridged this account in the previous (1788) edition, but this does not seem to have been the case. That book has a longer account of these affairs than any other. The History to 1783 in England is followed by a Scottish section, which includes particulars of the laying of the foundation stones of South Bridge, Edinburgh, in 1785, and of the new College of Edinburgh University in 1789. There is an account of Preston's Grand Chapter of Harodim which was opened in 1787, and this is followed by notes on the Royal Cumberland Freemasons' School⁵ founded in 1788. The History in England then continues up to 1795. On the 2nd May, 1790, we are told:—

This Grand Assembly confirmed the re-instatement of the members of the lodge of Antiquity in all their masonic privileges, after an unfortunate separation of ten years; and among those who were re-instated, the Author of this treatise had the honour to be included.

This edition contains six new Songs, including Robert Burns' farewell to St. James' Lodge, Tarbolton. This latter song was well known at this time, but I cannot trace that it was printed in any earlier English Masonic book. Four of these songs seem to be original. This 1796 book was the last of the *Illustrations* in the eighteenth century, but there were many more English editions later.

Before leaving William Preston and his literary achievements, we might take notice of a small handbook which was evidently written by him for the use

¹ Discussed in Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 38 *et seq.*

² To p. 219.

³ p. 244.

⁴ p. 334.

⁵ Now the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls.

of the Grand Chapter of Harodim. This is in a simple cypher, and is almost a printed ritual. The Title-page tells us something of the contents:—

The
Pocket Manual,
or
Free-mason's Guide
to the
Science of Freemasonry,
In three Parts:
containing
A Syllabus of the Lectures, and
a particular Detail of the Subjects
treated in each Section:
with
Many interesting Remarks, Charges, &c.
suited to the different Degrees.

LONDON:
Printed by T. Chapman, Nevil's
Court, Fetter-Lane.
MDCCXC.

[Price Five Shillings each Part.]

T. Chapman was initiated in 1786 in the Lodge of Antiquity, of which he became Secretary. For a time, he lived in the same house as William Preston. The book is one "which a waistcoat pocket may contain without incumbrance". The Grand Chapter of Harodim, established by Preston in 1787, worked Lectures of the three Degrees, and these Lectures were divided into Sections, in much the same way as the Craft Lectures of to-day, but the contents and arrangement were somewhat different. Later, the Syllabus of Lectures for the three degrees was printed in the form of a series of cues or catchwords, and a copy of this is in the Library of Quatuor Coronati Lodge. The book under notice contains the Lectures of the first degree only:—

a few copies of the First Part only are printed; and, from the price affixed to each Part, it is evident that a general sale is neither intended nor expected.

The other parts, with the Lectures of the second and third degrees cannot at present be traced, and probably they were not issued. It may be that five shillings was too high a price, and the book did not pay its way. It contains some general remarks on the Grand Chapter of Harodim, and the Syllabus of Lectures to which reference has already been made. Several items are taken from Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, and at the end of the book there are Healths, Lecture Toasts and Sentimental Toasts. The Lecture Toasts terminate each Section of a Lecture, so, no doubt, liquid refreshment was available in the Grand Chapter. At the Gala held in 1772, those who attended were provided with wine during the working of the Lectures. That was, of course, many years before the Grand Chapter of Harodim came into being, but no doubt the procedure was much the same.

THE *ILLUSTRATIONS* AS A MODEL FOR OTHER BOOKS.

Directly or indirectly, the *Illustrations of Masonry* was used by the authors or editors of many other handbooks. The first of these with whom we shall deal is Captain George Smith, Inspector of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, who was a friend of Preston and assisted at his Gala in 1772. He was initiated in a German Lodge when on military service in Prussia, and became Provincial

Grand Master for Kent, holding also, in one year, the office of Junior Grand Warden. Before publishing his book, Captain Smith asked for the sanction of Grand Lodge, but this was refused on principle.¹ Shortly afterwards, but before the appearance of the book, he found himself in trouble with Grand Lodge. The members of the Royal Military Lodge No. 371 at Woolwich claimed that the Lodge was itinerant, and accordingly it met in the King's Bench Prison. The Lodge was erased, and Smith himself was expelled.² His book, entitled *The Use and Abuse of Free-Masonry*, was published by G. Kearsly³ in 1783. It contains about 400 pages, sold for five shillings, and was stated to be of utility "to the Brethren of the Society, to Mankind in General, and to the Ladies in Particular". No doubt part of the book is original, but the author has made a great deal of use of Preston's *Illustrations*, in addition to the *Book of Constitutions*, *Ahiman Rezon*, the *Pocket Companions* and Calcott's *Candid Disquisition*. Several alterations have been made to the text, apparently with the object of disguising the origins. There is no need to give a detailed account of the contents, but there are a few features to which it may be profitable to refer. There are two Dedications, to Frederick II., Protector of Free-masons, and to the Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master. In the former we are told that:—

the author had the honour to learn the first rudiments of war in your Majesty's service, during seven instructive campaigns, and is connected with some of the most ancient and noble families in the Prussian dominions.

A most interesting part of the book is the History of Freemasonry in Countries abroad, of which nineteen are mentioned. The French Section includes the description of the Hall in Marseilles from the *Candid Disquisition*, and Count T - - -'s speech at the initiation of his son on the 29th November, 1773.⁴ The chapter on Spain, Portugal and Italy includes notes on the persecutions of A. J. Mouton and John Coustos, the Papal bull against the Craft, the book said to have been published in Dublin in 1739, and the Edict against that book.⁵ The Swiss section includes the Ordinance of Berne of 1745.⁶ There is a chapter entitled "The Vindication of Free-Masonry", part of which is from a charge to the Lodge of True Friendship⁷ at Dover. The book ends with chapters on "Masonic Hieroglyphics", "Why the Ladies have never been admitted" and "Masonic Charity". The latter gives examples of Masonic charitable organisations in various countries, but there were none in England, for the Masonic Girls' School, the earliest of the Institutions, was not founded until five years later. Most of this is from an address by the author to the Lodge of Fortitude⁸ at Maidstone, and there is no doubt that he had a high opinion of his Province, for he states that:—

the Kentish Freemasons are not only the most experienced, but the most hospitable, humane, and charitable (probably) of any in England.

Another author who made good use of Preston's work was James Sketchley,⁹ of Birmingham, who published an undated book entitled *The Freemason's Repository*, the price being two shillings. The date is usually taken as about 1790, but as the copy in the Klossian Library at the Hague has the name of the

¹ *Book of Constitutions*, 1784, p. 347, note.

² See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 479-480. An account is also in Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, 1792.

³ The publisher of the unofficial *Constitutions* of 1769. See p. 153 *ante*.

⁴ In the *Institutes of Freemasonry*, 1788, the author is stated to be "de Toloda".

⁵ See Scott's *Pocket Companion*, 1754.

⁶ See *ibid*.

⁷ Then No. 194.

⁸ Then No. 423.

⁹ See the paper read by Bro. S. J. Fenton last month.

owner and "1787" inscribed, we may assume that to be the correct date of publication.¹ Sketchley was an auctioneer, and originally an 'Antient' Mason,² but he joined the 'Modern' Society and became Provincial Grand Secretary of Warwickshire. The Masonic tokens which he issued in large numbers³ have made his name famous among Masonic collectors and numismatists. His *Sufferings of John Coustos* of 1790 is a new edition of the London and Dublin book of 1746. Hardly any of *The Freemason's Repository* is original, most of it being taken from Preston's *Illustrations* and *An Introduction to Free Masonry* by W. Meeson, who also hailed from Birmingham. There are also parts from the *Book of Constitutions* and *Ahiman Rezon*. The Frontispiece is a symbolic design, and it gives the key to the ordinary Masonic cypher. Modified as a bookplate, it has been reproduced in *A.Q.C.*⁴ The Dedication is to members of Lodges at Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Dudley; also those in the City of Quebec in Canada. His association with Canada I have not discovered, but perhaps he had a brother there,⁵ and he died not far away in Pekipsky,⁶ New York, in 1801. The book contains Count de Toloda's address⁷ and Thomas Duinkerley's *Light and Truth of Masonry explained*. This was given at Plymouth in 1757, when it was printed separately. It is also found in some of the *Pocket Companions*. There are epitaphs of John Holt, of Birmingham, and Andrew Brice, of Exeter, to whom we shall refer again when examining Robert Trewman's publications. There are a number of Songs at the end of the book, of which, apparently, three and one Prologue appear for the first time.

Masonic Miscellanies by Stephen Jones⁸ is another handbook on the same lines, and this makes even more use of the *Illustrations* than those already mentioned. The author was a printer and, later, a newspaper editor, and was related by marriage to William Preston. He became Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, was Secretary of the Grand Chapter of Harodim and the first Prestonian lecturer. He edited the thirteenth, or 1821 edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. *Masonic Miscellanies* is really a song book; the Songs, Poems, etc., of which there are 138, come first, and occupy more than half the book. There is an emblematic Frontispiece, followed by the Title-page, of which the imprint is as follows:—

LONDON:

Printed for VERNOR and HOOD, No. 31, Poultry.

[And J. COLE, No. 18. Fore-Street, Cripplegate.]

1797.

The words in square brackets do not always occur, and there are, therefore, two varieties of Title-page. John Cole we shall meet again later.⁹ One of these books with his imprint is in the Library of Grand Lodge. Brother W. J. Songhurst has suggested¹⁰ that these are early issues, for if Cole had been publishing the book in 1801, he would have advertised it in his *Illustrations*. The book is Dedicated to William Preston, to whom he says, "Having among many others, been honoured with access to your Parties of Instruction". Also, in another place, "you who introduced, who initiated me". The book is

¹ Since this was written, Bro. S. J. Fenton has found an advertisement, announcing the publication in 1786. See his comments at the end of this paper.

² He belonged to Antient Lodge No. 71, Birmingham.

³ See *A.Q.C.*, xlii., 148, and xlv., 320; *Miscellanea Latomorum*, ii., 18, 41, 118; v., 16, 29; ix., 38, 76, and x., 49, 80, 81.

⁴ xviii., 27, 52, 147.

⁵ See Bro. S. J. Fenton's paper, *cit. ante*.

⁶ Now Poughkeepsie.

⁷ See p. 170 *ante*.

⁸ See *D.N.B.*, *A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 63 and 276, and Kenning's *Cyclopædia of Freemasonry*.

⁹ See p. 172 *post*.

¹⁰ *A.Q.C.*, xx., 11.

divided into three parts. First, the Muse of Masonry, that is to say the Songs, Poems, etc., some of which have not appeared before. The second part is the Masonic Essayist, containing a contemporary collection, including Count de Toloda's address. The third part is the Free-mason's Vade Mecum, all of which is from other sources. There are Lists of Remarkable Events, Grand Masters, Grand Officers, etc., from the *Masonic Year Book*. This is followed by a great many items from Preston's *Illustrations* of 1796, and then a Lodge List from the *Masonic Year Book*. The last Lodge in this list is No. 564 of 20th June, 1797, and mixed up with the Craft Lodges are two Lists of Royal Arch Chapters and a List of Lodges of Instruction. There were other editions of *Masonic Miscellanies* early in the nineteenth century. Joseph Hill printed an edition in Dublin in 1800, and much of the contents was incorporated in his *Ahiman Rezon* of 1803.

ROBERT TREWMAN—THE PRINCIPLES OF FREE-MASONRY
DELINEATED.

There is one other author who made considerable use of Preston's work, Robert Trewman, a printer of Exeter, and as his books served as models for the editors who came later, it is worth while to give him some attention. Trewman was apprenticed to another well-known character, Andrew Brice,¹ but they quarrelled and separated about 1763. The latter was not only a printer, but also a song writer. Some of his songs were in *A Defence of Freemasonry*, 1765, and Trewman has also made good use of them. Brice died of general decay at the age of 83 in 1773. There is a notice of his funeral in an album of newspaper cuttings in the Library of Grand Lodge. The books with which we are concerned were entirely the work of Robert Trewman, for not only did he edit them, but they were also printed, published and sold by him.

The first of Trewman's Masonic handbooks was a *Select Collection of Masonic Songs*, which was published in 1767. The Songs are preceded by a "General Charge" which is the well-known sermon given by Rev. Charles Brockwell at Boston.² There are over fifty Songs, and several are the result of local talent. Bro. Andrew Brice is responsible for three, as well as a Prologue, and there are Songs by Brothers Foot and Churchill, of Exeter, and Bro. Osborne, of Plymouth. The Lodge List which follows is particularly interesting, but this has been fully discussed elsewhere.³ It was, apparently, compiled from an edition of Benjamin Cole's series of 1766.

Trewman issued another book ten years later, and for this, which is of greater interest, he made considerable use of Preston's *Illustrations*. This was *The Principles of Free-Masonry delineated* of 1777. The Frontispiece, engraved by a "capital Hand" in London, depicts the medal of the Union Lodge, Exeter, designed by John Chubb, of Bridgewater. This Lodge was constituted on the 6th August, 1766, and was erased in 1789. The book is dedicated to Sir C. W. Bampfylde, Bart., Provincial Grand Master for Devon,⁴ and has the sanction of that dignitary and his Officers, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master being John Codrington, who gave several addresses which are printed in the text. The Preface states:—

I hope my Brethren will kindly receive it; but as it is not design'd for them only, I wish those who are not of the Fraternity may read it, as I flatter myself they will then entertain a favourable Opinion of a very antient and much talk'd of Institution.

¹ See *D.N.B.*; *The Life and Bibliography of Andrew Brice*, privately printed, T. N. Brushfield, 1888; *A.Q.C.*, xli., 220 and 223, and *Freemason's Magazine*, iii., 21.

² See p. 159 *ante*.

³ Lane's *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges*, p. 165.

⁴ 1775 to 1820.

There is a good list of Subscribers, including the chief Officers of the Masonic Provinces of Devon and Cornwall. Most of the subscribers are entitled "Mr", but there are a few esquires. The Deputy Provincial Grand Master is not given that rank.

The first Charge in the book is to the Union Lodge in 1770 by Bro. C——, R.W.M., on the occasion of his installation. This is in the same style as a Charge near the end of the book, which is stated to be by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, who was John Codrington. Then follows a Charge by the same author on the occasion of an initiation, and part of this is translated from the French. Variations are given for a Candidate with a Commission in the Army, a Clergyman and a Frenchman. Another Charge by Brother Codrington in 1769, when he was Senior Warden, is on the subject of Charity. John Codrington would be a likely person to instal the new Provincial Grand Master in 1775, and apparently he did so, for there follows an address given on that occasion by the same Brother C——, who is also stated to have been at that time Master of the Union Lodge, so that, apparently, he held that office in 1770 and also in 1775. In addressing his new chief he says:—

I am desired, Right Worshipful, to install you . . . Give me
Leave, Sir to seat you in this Chair . . . Long may you enjoy
your exalted Station . . .

It would seem that he did, as he remained in office for the next forty-five years. Near the end of this address are the words:—

strive, by Well-doing, to put to Silence the Ignorance of foolish and
unenlightened Men.

It is of interest to note¹ that the Rougemont Encampment at Exeter, which is said to date from 1811 and perhaps earlier, conferred the degree of Rose Croix.

The next fifty pages are taken, almost entirely, from the 1775 edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, and these are followed by a report of the Foundation Stone ceremony and Dedication of the new Freemasons' Hall. After this, John Codrington appears again with an address given at the Quarterly Communication of Provincial Grand Lodge at Exeter, on the 17th January, 1777. In this we find the words:—

Forcibly impress upon your Lodges the Dignity and high Importance
of Masonry

and so on. This address is followed by a warning against 'Antient' Masons, who are to be treated as rebels, for they "claim the Right of *constituting* Lodges, under the false Sanction of the antient York Constitution". The origin of the 'Antient' Masons is here ascribed to an affair in 1739,² when some Masons were initiated for "unworthy and trifling considerations". There follows a little of the traditional history (as in the *Constitutions*) to explain the reference to the organisation at York:—

the present Grand Lodge of England are the true York Mascons.—The
antient York Masons were confined to one Lodge, which is still extant,
but consists of very few Members, and will probably soon be altogether
annihilated.

There are a number of Songs, a few of which are original, and some Prologues, Epilogues and a Hymn, which are the result of local talent. The Lodge List which follows is not particularly interesting; it includes London and Country Lodges, but all the Foreign Lodges have been omitted.

¹ *The Origin and Progress of the Supreme Council*, 33°, by Dr. A. W. Oxford, M.D., p. 42.

² Grand Lodge dealt with this on 30th June and 12th December, 1739.

THE PRINCIPLES AS A MODEL FOR OTHER BOOKS.

It is certain that the *Principles of Free-Masonry delineated* had considerable popularity, for the book is by no means rare to-day, and it was used directly or indirectly by several editors of handbooks of later date. It is a curious thing that none of these derived publications hails from London. Probably the earliest of these bodies was *A New Select Collection of Masonic Songs*, printed and sold at Poole by Joseph Rule, on the Quay. The printer belonged to the Lodge of Amity at Poole, now No. 137. There is no date to the publication, and it can only be surmised as about 1778. It must have been later than Trewman's work of 1777, as it is nearly all copied from that book, and, as there are no Lodges mentioned with dates after June, 1776, it was probably not a great deal later, although there can be no certainty of this. The book contains the General Charge to Masons, followed by Prayers, then the Songs, and, finally, a Lodge List. The whole of the contents, with the exception of a few Songs, are taken from the *Principles*. There are four songs which I cannot find in any earlier Masonic publication, but they are probably not original.

The Institutes of Free Masonry is another handbook copied from Trewman's *Principles*. It was addressed to the Sea Captains' Lodge,¹ and was printed and sold by Thomas Johnson, of Liverpool, the date being 1788. The author, who does not give his name on the Title-page, was John Turnough. He states in the Dedication to the Lodge that the book is "interspersed with some Originals", but apart from a few paragraphs here and there, the Rules and Orders of a local Lodge, and perhaps one Song, there is nothing original from beginning to end. Turnough adapted John Codrington's address to the new Provincial Grand Master for Devonshire by starting with the paragraph:—

To see a Provincial Grand Master for the County of Lancaster, has long, Right Worshipful, been the earnest Wish of the zealous and worthy Members of our Order in this Country.

This seems rather fictitious, as no Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire was installed between 1769 and 1807. This address is followed by Count de Toloda's discourse, and his name is here given in full. After the items from Trewman, there is a short Description of Solomon's Temple as in the traditional history of the *Book of Constitutions*, and the well-known Short Charge "As delivered at the Sea Captains' Lodge". This is not in Trewman's book, but is found in several contemporary publications. The Rules and Orders of the Lodge are naturally of interest. There was a meeting every fortnight, and new officers were appointed every six months. The subscription was twelve shillings per annum. The fee for the first two degrees was 1½ guineas and 2/6 for a certificate, but no fee for the third degree is mentioned. Visitors paid 1/- each for liquor, but present and past Grand Officers and members of the Stewards' Lodge were exempt. At installations, subscribers paid 1/6 and visitors 3/6 each. It is interesting to find that a member belonging to another Lodge could not hold office. After the Rules and Orders are a number of Songs, the only new one being the last, and a very poor effusion it is, beginning "In History we read of an ancient old King". The book ends with a list of Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters and Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry, all taken from the *Masonic Year Book*.

There is one handbook hailing from the West Indies, which is entitled *The Elements of Free Masonry delineated*. The imprint reads:—

Kingston, Jamaica:

Printed by Brother WILLIAM MOORE;
at the

Office of Messrs. Douglass and Aikman:
Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
MDCCLXXXII.

¹ Then No. 128.

The book begins with a table of Subscribers, and then there is a list of English Lodges in Jamaica and their Provincial Grand Officers for 1781. Provincial Grand Lodge held its Quarterly Communications at Brother Allen's Tavern in Kingston. There follows a List of the Lodges, with the places of meeting, and names of the officers. The Kingston Lodge is the Mother Lodge, No. 1, and the others are Harmony Lodge, Union Lodge, Seville Lodge, St. Andrew's Lodge, Amity Lodge and St. Mary's Lodge. The book then continues with items from Trewman's *Principles*. The only original feature is a Prologue given in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1782.

The next book is particularly uninteresting, as there is nothing whatever in it that is original. This is *The Elements of Free-Masonry Delineated* by R. Ray, of Liverpool, dated 1788. The author is described on the Title-page as "Master of Lodge 53". This must be the 'Antient' Lodge No. 53 of Liverpool, but there is nothing in the book that is "Antient" from beginning to end. At first sight, it seems to be modelled on Trewman's *Principles*, but a careful examination shows that it is much more akin to the Jamaica handbook of 1782. The Charge delivered at the Union Lodge, Exeter, in 1770, is in the same position in the two books, and the arrangement of the Songs is very similar. It seems, therefore, that Ray copied the Jamaica book, but it is possible, of course, that both are derived from a common original, which is at present unknown.

The last publication that comes into our ambit is an American handbook of 1794, printed at New London, Connecticut. The Title-page reads as follows:—

The
Free-Mason's
Pocket Companion
Or
Elements
of
Free-Masonry
Delineated.

[Poem on FRIENDSHIP.]

New-London:
Printed by Brother SAMUEL GREEN.
In the Christian Era MDCCXCIV; in
The Year of Light VMDCXCIV.

The book itself does not call for special attention, as it is a close copy of *The Elements of Free-Masonry Delineated* by R. Ray. No doubt the Liverpool book soon found its way across the Atlantic, and was reprinted by the enterprising Samuel Green for the benefit of our American Brethren.

CONCLUSION.

After 1800, we come to a time when these handbooks become more and more plentiful, and, it must be confessed, less interesting. It is not proposed, for this reason, to continue the examination into the nineteenth century. It must be remembered, however, that a few of the publications which have been reviewed were reissued at later dates, in some cases guided by the fertile, but, I am afraid, unreliable pen of Dr. George Oliver.

This paper is not, and does not pretend to be at all exhaustive. It has been possible in the space at my disposal to treat the subject only in a somewhat sketchy manner. I have tried to call attention to the prominent features of the various books, but I know that, even so, much of interest has been omitted. It is my hope that it will be regarded as a framework, and that others who follow will complete some of the detail.

APPENDIX I.

List of Handbooks examined in this Paper.

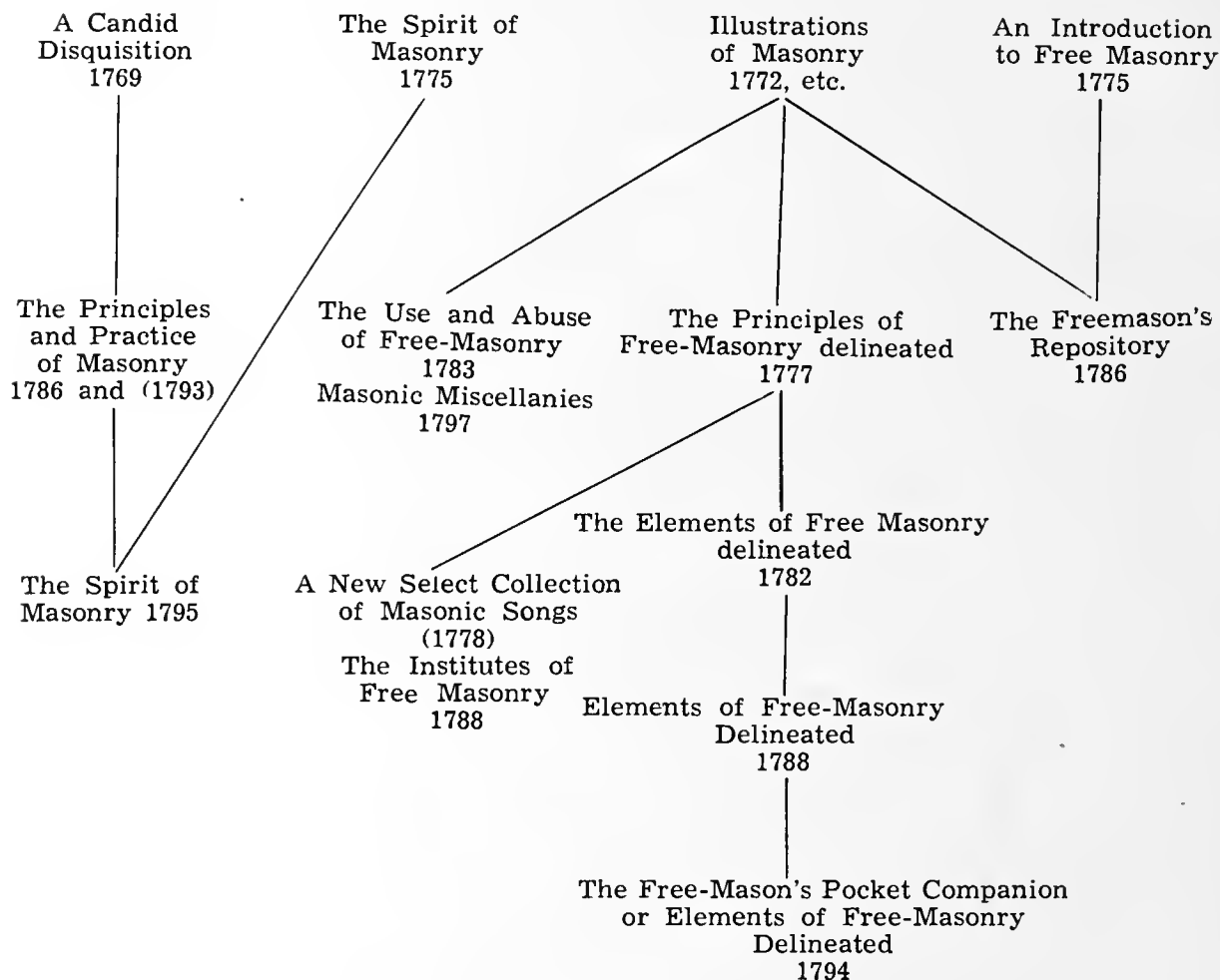
All these Handbooks are in the Library of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, except where another library or collection is mentioned.

| Index Number. | Page of Text. | Wolstieg Ref'rnce. | Title. | Author or Publisher. | Place. | Date. | Notes. |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------|---|
| 1 | 146 | 5825 | The Old Constitutions | John Roberts | London | 1722 | Copies with G.L. England (on loan) and Iowa. |
| 2 | 146 | 5821 | The secret History of the Free-Masons | Sam. Briscoe | London | (1723) | Reprinted Spencer, London, 1870; Iowa, 1917. |
| 3 | 147 | 5821 | The secret History of the Free-Masons | Sam. Briscoe | London | 1725 | Reprinted by Q.C.; Bain No. 1. |
| 4 | 147 | 5834 | A Book of The Antient Constitutions | B. Cole | London | (1729) | Copies in Worcester Masonic Library and British Museum. |
| 5 | 148 | 5834 | The Antient Constitutions | B. Creak and B. Cole | London | 1731 | Reprinted Jackson, Leeds, 1897. |
| 6 | 148 | 5835 | The Beginning and First Foundation | Dodd | London | 1739 | Copy with G.L. England. |
| 7 | 148 | 5834 | The Antient Constitutions and Charges | B. Cole | London | 1751 | Reprinted Carson, Cincinnati, 1876; Q.C. Antigrapha, Vol. IV. |
| 8 | 157 | 3824 | A Discourse upon Masonry | George Minty | Dublin | 1757 | Copies with G.L. Ireland and in Wallace Heaton Collection. |
| 9 | 157 | 39705 | A Collection of Free Masons' Songs | James Callendar | Edinburgh | 1758 | Copy in British Museum. |
| 10 | 148 | 5834 | The Antient Constitutions and Charges | B. Cole | London | 1762 | |
| 11 | 148 | 3882 | The Complete Free Mason, or Multa Paucis | — | — | (1763) | Reprinted Indian Masonic Review, 1892; Leicester, No. 7. |
| 12 | 172 | — | Select Collection of Masonic Songs | Robert Trewman | Exeter | 1767 | Copy with G.L. England |
| 13 | 153 | — | The Constitutions | G. Kearsly and T. Wilkinson | London & Dublin | 1769 | |
| 14 | 160 | 1363 | A Candid Disquisition | Wellins Calcott | London | 1769 | |
| 15 | 163 | 1365 | Illustrations of Masonry | William Preston | London | 1772 | Reprinted William Watson, London, 1887. |
| 16 | 154 | 1369 | An Introduction to Free Masonry | W. Meeson | Birmingham | 1775 | |
| 17 | 162 | 21609 | The Spirit of Masonry | William Hutchinson | London | 1775 | |
| 18 | 165 | 1365 | Illustrations of Masonry | William Preston | London | 1775 | 2nd Edition. |

| Index Number. | Page of Text. | Wolfstieg Ref'rnce. | Title. | Author or Publisher. | Place. | Date. | Notes. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|-------------------------|--------|---|
| 19 | 163 | 1365 | <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> | William Preston | London | 1776 | Doubtful. Noted by Albert G. Mackey in the <i>Encyclopædia of Freemasonry</i> . |
| 20 | 172 | 25033 | <i>The Principles of Free-Masonry delineated</i> | Robert Trewman | Exeter | 1777 | |
| 21 | 154 | 927 | <i>The Free-mason's Companion</i> | E. Humble | Newcastle-upon-Tyne | 1777 | |
| 22 | 174 | — | A New Select Collection of Masonic Songs | Joseph Rule | Poole | (1778) | Copy with G.L. England. |
| 23 | 158 | 3884 | A Discourse upon Masonry | George Minty | Dublin | (1778) | |
| 24 | 165 | 1365 | <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> | William Preston | London | 1781 | |
| 25 | 174 | — | <i>The Elements of Free Masonry delineated</i> | William Moore | Kingston, Jamaica | 1782 | Copy with Manchester Assoc. for Masonic Research. |
| 26 | 155 | — | <i>Brief History of Freemasons</i> | Thomas Johnson | London | 1782 | Copy with Leicester Masonic Library. |
| 27 | 170 | 37237 | <i>The Use and Abuse of Free-Masonry</i> | Capt. George Smith | London | 1783 | |
| 28 | 155 | — | <i>Brief History of Freemasons</i> | Thomas Johnson | London | 1784 | |
| 29 | 161 | 25041 | <i>The Principles and Practice of Masonry</i> | — | — | 1786 | 2nd Edition. |
| 30 | 170 | 938 | <i>The Freemason's Repository</i> | J. Sketchley | Birmingham | 1786 | |
| 31 | 167 | 1365 | <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> | William Preston | London | 1788 | |
| 32 | 175 | 1384 | <i>The Elements of Free-Masonry Delineated</i> | R. Ray | Liverpool | 1788 | |
| 33 | 174 | 933 | <i>The Institutes of Free Masonry</i> | John Turnough | Liverpool | 1788 | |
| 34 | 159 | — | <i>Sublime Friendship Delineated</i> | John Donovan | Cork | 1789 | Copy with G.L. Ireland. |
| 35 | 169 | — | <i>The Pocket Manual, or Freemason's Guide</i> | William Preston | London | 1790 | Copy with Lo. No. 2 (Part 1. only). |
| 36 | 167 | 1365 | <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> | William Preston | London | 1792 | 8th Edition. |
| 37 | 161 | 25041 | <i>The Principles and Practice of Masonry</i> | — | — | (1793) | Copy in Wallace Heaton Collection. |
| 38 | 175 | — | <i>The Free-Mason's Pocket Companion or Elements of Free-Masonry Delineated</i> | Samuel Green | New London, Connecticut | 1794 | Copy with G.L. Pennsylvania. |
| 39 | 162 | 21609 | <i>The Spirit of Masonry</i> | William Hutchinson | Carlisle | 1795 | Copies with G.L. England and in Wallace Heaton Collection. Editions later. |
| 40 | 168 | 1365 | <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> | William Preston | London | 1796 | 9th Edition. Editions later. |
| 41 | 171 | 939 | <i>Masonic Miscellanies</i> | Stephen Jones | London | 1797 | Editions later. |
| 42 | — | 1365 | <i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> | William Preston | London | 1799 | Doubtful. Noted by Albert G. Mackey in the <i>Encyclopædia of Freemasonry</i> and by Kloss and Wolfstieg. |
| 43 | 156 | 39853 | <i>Masonic Museum</i> | J. Roach and John Cole | London | 1799 | |

APPENDIX II.

Diagram to show the probable sequence of some of the handbooks.



A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Adams for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. Lewis Edwards, seconded by Bro. F. W. Golby; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. George Elkington, S. J. Fenton, G. W. Bullamore and J. Heron Lepper.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

In offering Bro. Adams my thanks for his scholarly paper I do so none the less sincerely because in it he has propounded a theory which I not only cannot accept but must do my best to confute.

His suggestion is that *Multa Paucis*, published anonymously in 1763 for the use of 'Modern' Masons, may have been written by Laurence Dermott, the Grand Secretary of the 'Antients', and as evidence to support the idea he adduces:—

(1) That *Multa Paucis* in its long chronicle of notable Masonic happenings from the times of Adam to those of Earl Ferrers contains one or two items relating to Ireland that do not appear in the English *Constitutions* and are taken from Spratt's Dublin publication (1751), which would not be well known in England.

(2) That the books may have had the same printer.

(3) The same engraver, Patrick Larkin, an 'Antient' Mason, did a frontispiece for both of them.

(4) That Dermott is known to have written a complete history of the Craft, though he did not publish it in *Ahiman Rezon*.

(5) The songs given in *Multa Paucis* are included in *Ahiman Rezon*.

(6) That there was no reason why Dermott should not fill his pockets at the expense of the 'Modern' Masons by selling them a book in which all reference to their rivals was carefully excluded.

Even those who, like myself, have strong preconceived opinions on the matter must agree that Bro. Adams has presented a *prima-facie* case plausible enough to demand an answer from some one who holds Laurence Dermott's memory in reverence, so in default of a better champion one of the least of his countrymen will now proceed to step with determination, if not with effect, upon the challenging tail of Bro. Adams's coat.

Let us examine Bro. Adams's suggestions in order as set down above:—

(1) When recently, constrained by the force of circumstances, I re-read *Multa Paucis* after an interval of over thirty years, I was at once struck, as Bro. Adams had been, by the references to Ireland, and at first jumped to the conclusion that the author was an Irishman, if not an Irish Mason. Such references are: Henry the Second's assumption of the Lordship of Ireland (p. 58), the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1591 (p. 70), and the completion of the Houses of Parliament in the same city (p. 90). So far so good; but not a word about speculative Freemasonry in Ireland; not even so much as Anderson grudgingly bestowed; the Craft might never have existed in that country, so far as our author's observation went. Thus on reflection I found myself wondering at his omissions more than his inclusions, and I did not feel so certain of my first judgment. I then turned back to Bro. Adams's paper, and found that he had solved the problem for me by pointing out that the Irish items in *Multa Paucis* are taken from Spratt, a book I have not consulted in writing this note, for Bro. Adams's statement is quite enough. Having found the source of the author's information, I could not but conclude that he had deliberately kept silence about that Grand Lodge which in the early days had so often interchanged Grand Masters with England, for there is plenty of information about it in Spratt; his object evidently was to affect ignorance that a Grand Lodge had ever existed except in England, so he laid a copy of Spratt under contribution, making such extracts as suited his brief, just as he had already done by so many other printed books. Incidentally, I think that copies of Spratt cannot have been so very uncommon in England, for the Irish immigrant Masons would in many cases have brought their book of the words with them.

Was Dermott, the personal friend and Masonic pupil of Spratt, the open extoller of Irish Freemasonry his whole life long, likely to mutilate his Master's book and slight his Mother Constitution for the sake of the problematic gain to be gathered from an anonymous publication?

I, for one, cannot believe it.

In regard to items (2) and (3), after having examined copies of both books from Q.C. Library, I would submit that if they indeed had the same printer, (a) he used a different fount of type for each; (b) that the typesetter employed on *Ahiman Rezon* was a much better master of his craft; (c) that the editing or proof-reading was done much more thoroughly in the case of *Ahiman Rezon*, and that this latter book comes much nearer than the other to the typographical standards of to-day in discarding the use of needless capitals for nouns and black letter for the names of notabilities. In fact, to my eye (but let those better skilled in the art of printing be the judges in this particular) the general typo-

graphical styles of the two books seem so dissimilar that I should have no hesitation in ascribing a different printer to each. Against this opinion must be set the fact that some of the ornamental type used for making tail-pieces is identical in both, though to me it looks more worn-out in the case of *Multa Paucis*, which so far as we know was printed a year before *Ahiman Rezon*. Those who wish to test the matter for themselves may compare page 50 of *Ahiman Rezon* with page 112 of *Multa Paucis*.

Whether or not the two books came from the same printing-press is beside the point in a debate on their authorship; however, I must make it clear that I have still to be convinced that one printer could within twelve months turn out two pieces of work with such variations in technical details.

As for the frontispieces, a needy engraver like a needy author has to accept any piece of commissioned work that brings in bread and butter, and both professions tend to specialize in pot-boilers of the same genre. I attach little importance to Larkin having been employed on the illustrations to both books.

(4) Here let me quote Bro. Adams's exact words:—

“In *Ahiman Rezon*, Dermott tells us that he wrote a complete history of the Craft, but he does not print it. No doubt he realised that he could give no satisfactory explanation of the advent of the ‘Antient’, and accordingly he invented a cock and bull story that his manuscript was eaten by a dog. If it be true that he had the history already written, no doubt he wanted to make use of it, and so I suggest that after it was brought up to date, and with the addition of some other items, it came to light in the guise of *Multa Paucis*”.

Well, I must confess that hitherto I have never taken seriously the story told in Dermott's preface. This may be my mistake. He may have fallen asleep and dreamt a dream; he may have written a history of Freemasonry, and it may have been eaten by a puppy; but if all these things really did happen, he has chosen to impart them to us in a singularly unconvincing and fantastic way, quite different from his usual style when presenting what he believed to be facts. My belief has been hitherto, and remains unchanged, that he was merely poking fun at Masonic histories of the Anderson and *Multa Paucis* type, fit only for consumption by callow novices animated by more gullosity than judgment.

As for giving a satisfactory explanation of the rise of ‘Antient’ Freemasonry, surely that is just what he set out to do in *Ahiman Rezon*, and did it supremely well in the opinion of many of us. Nor let it be forgotten that some old Lodges that never faltered in their allegiance to the original Grand Lodge of England yet justified Dermott's strictures, inasmuch as they alluded to themselves as ‘Antient’ and dubbed the new-fangled ritual ‘Modern’, nay more, insisted upon conferring the degrees afresh on joining members who had received them in this new way. The Bolton Lodge was a case in point. So whatever opinion we may hold about Dermott's method of conducting a controversy, there can be but one about his having a good case; the Union of 1813 is the proof thereof.

(5) It is quite true that the songs in *Multa Paucis* are included in *Ahiman Rezon*, but this proves nothing, because the same might be said of many other eighteenth-century Masonic books. We might, however, hazard certain conclusions about the anonymous author from the fact that *Multa Paucis* contains none of the compositions of indisputable Irish origin found in *Ahiman Rezon*, e.g., the prologue spoken by Bro. Griffith, the oratorio composed by Richard Broadway, the organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral, in 1753, or, most significant of all, the songs which Dermott himself wrote. It is against all the canons of experience for a poet when compiling an anthology to exclude his own work. It might be worth noting that there are but forty-five pages of songs in *Multa Paucis*, as against the one hundred and forty-four in *Ahiman Rezon*.

(6) Here again let me quote Bro. Adams's exact words:—

“Dermott was clever, almost cunning at times, and having found that he could sell his own *Ahiman Rezon* profitably, what is more likely than that he should produce a book, which should help his pocket at the expense of the much more numerous ‘Moderns’? It might be argued that this would not be honest, but here again, I am not so sure”.

Well, I am quite sure that it would not have seemed honest to Dermott, if he were indeed the fanatic for ritual forms that I believe him to have been.

If any fact is firmly established by the extant records of the ‘Antients’, it is that Dermott never benefited in pocket by exploiting Freemasonry. His life has been so well treated by Sadler and Bywater that I need not go into details beyond a mere reference to the not inconsiderable gifts he made to the Grand Lodge during his lifetime.

So far in crossing rapiers with Bro. Adams it has been merely thrust and parry, the opinion of one individual against another; so I must now try to produce some new arguments to get, if possible, under my redoubtable opponent's guard.

Here are three excerpts from *Multa Paucis* (pp. 2, 3, 4) that will give a not unfair idea of its style:—

“For CAIN his first born, although he at first tilled the Ground, yet after he had committed the Murder of his Brother ABEL, for which God drove him into the Land of *Nod*, he shewed his early Skill in MASONRY, by the building a strong City, and called the same after the Name of his first Son ENOCH *Gen.* 4.
But before the Destruction of the World drew nigh, *Methuselah* and *Lamech* died, and God commanded NOAH to build an Ark, or floating Castle, wherein his three Sons assisted as Deputy and Wardens; and after they had finished the same according to GEOMETRY,
so that the present Race of Mankind are from those four GRAND OFFICERS descended
Accordingly, GRAND MASTER, *Nimrod*, employed his *Masons* in the Vale *Shinar*, and in a short Time filled the whole Valley with numerous stately Buildings, he likewise erected in his City the highest Tower the World ever beheld. But they knew not when to desist, till their Vanity provoked their Maker, who prevented their Design by confounding their speech: hence it was called *Babel* or Confusion, and their Confusion of Dialects, gave Rise to the universal Practice of MASONS, knowing each other by Signs and Tokens, and conversing together without speaking.”

Now with the foregoing compare *Ahiman Rezon* (p. xii.) where Dermott's dream visitor thus instructs him:—

“Certain it is (continued he) that free-masonry has been from the creation (though not under that name); that it was a divine gift from God; that Cain and the builders of his city were strangers to the secret mystery of masonry; that there were but four masons in the world when the deluge happened; that one of the four, even the second son of Noah was not master of the art; that Nimrod, nor any of his bricklayers, knew anything of the matter; and that there were but very few masters of the art (even) at Solomon's temple”

From this it would seem as if Dermott had set himself in *Ahiman Rezon* to contradict many of the Masonic legends given in *Multa Paucis*, and it is hard to find any reason why he should do so, if he were the author of both books.

Now let us take another passage from *Multa Paucis* (p. 82), which relates the death of Queen Anne, "the last of the Royal Race of King Charles I. For the others being Romans, are excluded by the Act of Parliament".

Considering that Dermott came of a family that was fervently Roman Catholic and not without Jacobite sympathies (*Vide* "History of the G.L. Ireland", p. 238) I cannot think that the implied "little varmint, serve him right!" with which *Multa Paucis* curtly dismisses the exiled Stuart Prince is at all compatible with his authorship of the book.

The strongest argument, however, in favour of a separate and distinct authorship for either book will be found on comparing the styles. A man might bring himself to swallow his principles for the sake of gain, to be ashamed of his country, to deceive his brethren, to deny his religion, even to betray his Mother in the Masonic sense, and yet manage to remain unmasked as a villain; but he would never be able to give his literary style, if naturally bad, either charm or distinction; and conversely, if an expert in handling the English language, would not write it badly, even when writing rubbish.

Well, *Multa Paucis* is one of the dullest Masonic treatises ever penned, and that, in the fashionable jargon of to-day, is 'saying a mouthful', while *Ahiman Rezon*, in its controversial passages at all events, abounds in wit, imagination, and forcible home-thrusts of happy phrasing. Dermott may be biased, mistaken, unfair in his polemics, but he is never a bore. Can we point to any single passage in *Multa Paucis* that can be read with pleasure for the way in which it is presented? Mythology can be entertaining; but this book is mythology turned into an old almanac.

Once again, let us contrast passages from the two books. I think it will be found a fair comparison, for I have chosen them for identity of subject, and not for contrasts of phraseology, nor yet for showing Dermott at his best or the other man at his worst:—

"But our good old GRAND MASTER *Wren*, being struck with Age and Infirmities, did, from this time forward, retire from all Manner of Business, and, on account of his Disability, could no more attend the Lodges in visiting and regulating their Meetings as usual. This occasioned they (*sic*) Number of regular Lodges to be greatly reduced; but they regularly assembled in Hopes of having again a noble Patron at their Head." (*Multa Paucis*, p. 82.)

"Therefore (*sic*), In order to satisfy the importunities of my good Brethren (particularly the Right worshipful and very worthy Gentlemen of America, who for their charitable disposition, prudent choice of members and good conduct in general, deserve the unanimous thanks and applause of the masonical world) be it known, that the innovation, already mentioned, arose upon the fall of a Grand Master, namely Sir Christopher Wren, who (as Doctor Anderson says) neglected the Lodges. The Doctor's assertion is certainly true, and I will endeavour to do justice unto the memory of Sir Christopher, by relating the real cause of such neglect. The famous Sir Christopher Wren, Knight, . . . having served the crown upwards of fifty years, was (at the age of ninety) displaced from employment, in favour of Mr William Bns-n, who was made surveyor of the buildings etc. to his Majesty King George the first." (*Ahiman Rezon*, p. xxvii.)

Both the historians are romancing here, though there is a substratum of truth in Dermott's account, for Wren in his old age was neglected by the Court for political reasons (*Vide Memoirs of the Marquis of Ailesbury*); but I am not so much concerned with the lack of veracity in their narratives as with their respective styles. Dermott wields the pen of a ready writer (note the skilful

insertion of propaganda intended for Philadelphia), while we can almost see the other fellow smudging his fingers and chewing his quill as he slowly set down those rough-hewn sentences. I doubt if Dermott could ever have written such a long treatise so dully as the author of *Multa Paucis*, or that the latter could ever have composed a paragraph capable of being mistaken for an extract from those portions of *Ahiman Rezon* for which Dermott was responsible.

I may sum up my opinion of the author of *Multa Paucis* by saying that he was a laborious scribe, a diligent collector of material, no doubt, but one who did not illumine his gatherings by any brightness of fancy or coruscation of style; one who clung to names and dates as a man in deep waters will cling to bladders filled with wind, finding thereby support of a kind, but no propelling force towards the haven where every writer fain would arrive, the good will of the public; such a haven as was won by that compatriot of mine with the bitter tongue, obstinate will, kindly heart and inflexible sincerity (for so I believe), without whose services to the Craft English Freemasonry as we know it to-day would never have come into existence, a fact we shall do well to remember in estimating the things we know him to have done or the things he might have done, if given the opportunity. I believe him to have been incapable of writing *Multa Paucis* in its existing form, or in publishing it in any form in a hole-and-corner way.

Let me conclude with a heart-felt expression of thanks to my good friend Bro. Adams for his paper, and of apology, too, for having inflicted on him such a lengthy commentary in return.

BRO. S. J. FENTON writes:—

Bro. Cecil Adams has put before our members a paper of great interest to all students of Masonic Literature and one particularly useful to Masonic Librarians.

His references to Birmingham Masonic writers and publishers gives me an opportunity of supplying a few details which may be of interest.

THE FREEMASONS REPOSITORY, edited and published by JAMES SKETCHLEY. (Wolfsteig 938.) The date of this book has always been doubtful because it is undated, but the following advertisement in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* of 26th June, 1786, definitely settles the date of issue:—

This day is published, Price Two Shillings, Neatly printed in small Octavo, and on fine Paper, with a beautiful Copperplate Frontispiece, *The Freemason's Repository: Containing a Selection of many valuable Letters (Particularly one from his Highness Omdit ul Omrah Behander, Son of the Nabob of Arcot, to his Grace the Duke of Manchester, Grand Master, on his being initiated into the illustrious and benevolent Society of Freemasons) Discourses, Charges, Orders, Rules, Regulations, &c., &c., belonging to the Craft.* To which is added, at the particular Request of many Brothers, a Variety of Anthems, Odes, Songs, Poems, Prologues, Toasts, Sentiments, and other valuable pieces. Also the Secret Way of Writing used among the Brethren, of Great Use; the Key to which will be given to any known Brother, either personally, or by letter, Post-Paid, to the Printer and Publisher, J. Sketchley, Auctioneer, in Moor-street; of Messrs. Pearson and Rollason, of Mr. Swinney, and of Messrs. Piercy and Jones, all of Birmingham; of Mr. Smart, and Miss Cresswell, in Wolverhampton, and of all Booksellers.

WELLINS CALCOTT. Bro. Adams states that he is described as a Past Master, that he belonged to the 'Moderns' and that he was also a Scotch Mason. These points may be correct, but we have definite records of him in Warwickshire before and after the date of his publication of "A Candid Disquisition" in 1769.

In the returns made of the Members of Lodge No. 71, Birmingham, to the Grand Lodge of the 'Antients', under the date of 6th December, 1758, we find the name of Welling Calcott, either as an initiate or a joining member,—probably as an initiate. A member of this Lodge was James Sketchley, who published the *Freemasons Repository*, previously mentioned, and who was afterwards a founder and Master of No. 124 ('Antients'). This Lodge eventually became St. Paul's Lodge, Birmingham, now No. 43, and in its minutes we find three items referring to Calcott:—

1776. Oct. 18. The Lodge was visited by our right Worshipful Bror. Calcott, past master, who, after an introductory Lecture for ye Chair, gave a Most Excellent Lecture on ye first step And likewise some very good Observations on Some Subjects which cannot be regularly Introduced in a Lecture.

1776. Nov. 1. The Lodge was visited by Bror. Calcott who gave as an Addition to the Ceremony of raising a Master in ye person of Bror. Noble, some Excellent observations on ye same.

Nearly two years later we find the following, but unfortunately without any hint being given for the reason of such a drastic measure:—

1778. Janry. 16. Wellings Calcott for severe reflections upon Masonry in general and of this Lodge in particular is forbid for ever visiting it.

W. MEESON. He is described as a Master Mason; he published the rare *Introduction of Freemasonry* in Birmingham in 1775. He has so far eluded me in searching for him as a member of a Birmingham Lodge at that period, and I have been equally unsuccessful in tracing his name in the Birmingham Directories of about that date. But when we consider the suggestion made by Bro. Adams, that Meeson apparently copied from Wellins Calcott's *Candid Disquisitions*, and that Sketchley belonged to the same Lodge as Calcott, it is quite probable that Meeson was a member of a local Lodge, especially as we find records of all their activities in Birmingham at the same period.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The suggestion that *Multa Paucis* was written by Lawrence Dermott is interesting; but I much doubt whether the educated masons of the period regarded seriously the history of the Craft as given by Bro. Anderson. The supervision of the work exercised by Bros. Payne and Desaguliers may have been to ensure that no Masonic secrets were betrayed, rather than to correct erroneous statements. At any rate, we find that Bro. Thomas Massingham, M.D., the pro-Grand Master of the 'Moderns', states in a letter, dated 1757, that Grand Master Payne succeeded Sir Christopher Wren. In the same letter he mentions his acquaintanceship with older masons, among others "my own father who has been a mason these fifty years". He was, therefore, in touch with direct testimony regarding the masons from 1707.

If we link up this statement with the six lodges and the jettisoning of the speculative side by the Masons Company of London after the death of Sir Christopher Wren, we simplify the problem of the origin of the Grand Lodge of the 'Moderns'. It commences with the O.R. issued by Payne in an effort to gain control of the unattached Brethren, who were formerly honorary members of the lodges of journeymen that rebuilt London and who continued to hold meetings although no longer summoned by a master. In *The Four Old Lodges* Bro. Gould is perplexed by the existence of a fifth lodge, so that the number of lodges at the start is as likely to have been six as four.

It is likely that Grand Master Payne was invested with power by the old organisation to erect a lodge and made an attempt to reduce to obedience the remnants of lodges that were holding unauthorised meetings. The effort was successful, but in the process the master with power to erect a lodge gave place to the lodge with power to elect a master. It was this change that was the vital new principle.

It is curious that to believe in the Grand Mastership of Wren is looked upon as a sign of hopeless credulity, while the belief in Antony Sayer and his four lodges is an article of faith. Yet Sir Christopher Wren was undoubtedly of the class from which Grand Masters are chosen, while there is no evidence that Sayer possessed either money or pedigree. Even his Masonic portrait is a posthumous fake from the plate of a private individual.

Bro. ADAMS writes, in reply:—

Old books are notoriously dry, and the Masonic publications of the eighteenth century are, for the most part, particularly so. This paper, which professed to contain little more than notes on some of these works, was, thus by its nature, unlikely to be of popular interest. Almost the only opportunity for departing from the realm of fact and propounding a theory has been in the case of the authorship of *Multa Paucis*.

The paper has had a good reception, and although the comments are few, they are of the greatest value, and I am most grateful to those who have submitted them.

Bro. S. J. Fenton has helped us by fixing the date of *The Freemason's Repository*, and has furnished some other useful information from Birmingham.

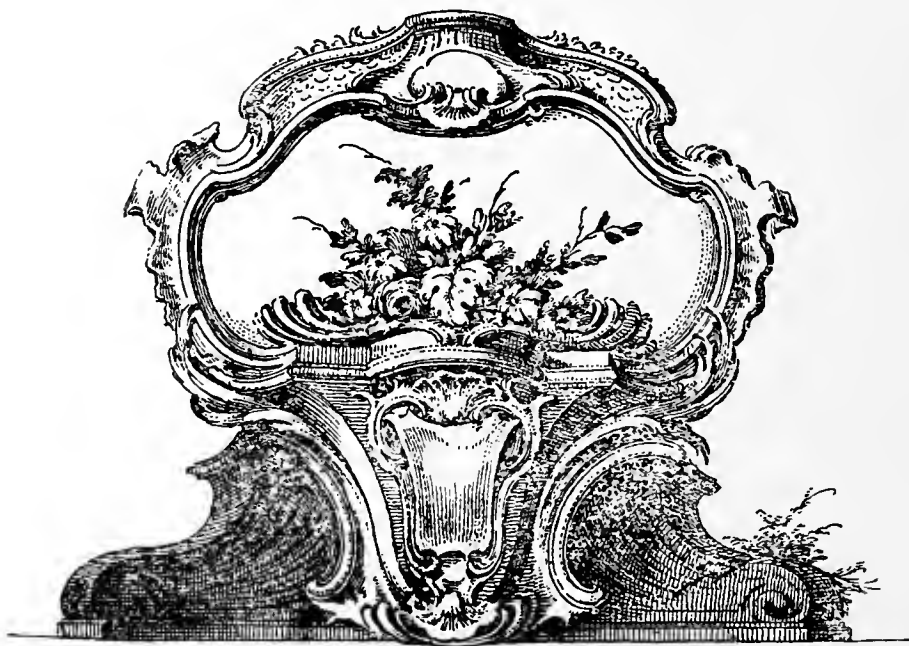
I must thank Bro. J. Heron Lepper for entering the lists to support his fellow countryman, which he has done with good effect. The theory that *Multa Paucis* was the production of Lawrence Dermott was by no means proved, and it would have been a great mistake for it to have remained unchallenged, as such a situation might have been construed by some to have meant its general acceptance.

Bro. Lepper is eminently qualified to deal with the literary and textual features of the book, and we must allow that his remarks on these lines are authoritative. Unfortunately, he can in a few sentences, deal with only a small part of the text, and naturally, he has selected for comparison passages which best assist his argument. In this reply, I do not think that any more quotations are wanted, but I have not found it hard to select passages in *Multa Paucis* which I, for one, should be satisfied to attribute to the pen of the worthy Grand Secretary of the 'Antients'. Probably we shall get no further by continuing the argument on these lines.

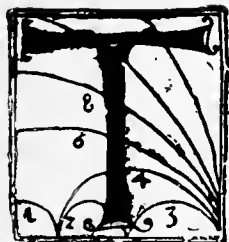
In the paper, a number of reasons have been given in support of the theory, but for the most part, Bro. Lepper has only touched on them lightly. He suggests that Spratt's *Constitutions* may have been freely available in England. No doubt this was so, but they would have been in the hands of the Irish Freemasons. I can see no reason why this book should have been used by an Englishman, and to me it seems unreasonable to expect it to be quoted by anyone other than an Irishman.

We all have, I think, great admiration for Lawrence Dermott, chiefly because he was running, and running very successfully, his small society in opposition to the much larger organisation, which was backed by all the weight of official authority. His fighting ability and enthusiasm were wonderful, but these characteristics must not lead us to believe that he was incapable of fault.

For the present, the identity of the author of *Multa Paucis* must remain an open question. We can only hope that some further evidence may be forthcoming.



FRIDAY, 1st OCTOBER, 1937.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. George Elkington, P.G.D., W.M.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., I.P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as S.W.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., S.D.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., J.D.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., as I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B.; J. Jacklin; H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B.; G. Harold Green; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; H. Love, A.G.Purs.; Sir George Franks, J.G.W., Ireland, P.G.Swd.B.; Harry Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; P. J. Crawley; E. J. Marsh, P.G.D.; Commdr. S. N. Smith; A. F. G. Warrington; R. W. Strickland; A. F. Cross; F. R. Radice; F. Matthewman; J. C. da Costa; Geo. C. Williams; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.D.C.; Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.; L. G. Wearing; N. F. Wills; F. Addington Hall; L. G. Annetts; W. H. Leese; D. H. Bell; Wilfrid Ellis; R. A. L. Harland; J. H. Greenwood; H. D. Elkington; M. Lawrence; A. W. R. Kendrick, and L. A. Margetts.

Also Bro. Gordon Webb, P.M., Lodge Light of the South No. 1553, Visitor.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chaplain; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Dr. G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down; B. Ivanoff, I.G.; and Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.

Bro. G. ELKINGTON, W.M., read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

BRO. GORDON PETTIGREW GRAHAM HILLS.

It is with very great regret that I have to refer to the death of Bro. Gordon Pettigrew Graham Hills, who occupied this Chair in 1919.

Bro. Hills was born in London on July 2nd, 1867, and educated at Kensington Grammar School. He followed his father's profession of architect, becoming his partner in 1893. He became an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1892, and in 1895 was appointed Surveyor of Chichester Cathedral, in succession to his father. He was also Architect of St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester. In 1927, on the death of Bro. Wonnacott, who also was a member and Past Master of our Lodge, he was appointed Librarian to Grand Lodge, a post he held until 1935, when ill-health compelled him to resign that appointment.

Bro. Hills' other archæological distinctions included membership of the Councils of the British Archæological Association and the Berkshire Archæological Society. In the Journals of those Societies have been published papers by Bro. Hills on *Cathedrals of the old Foundation*, *Cookham Church*, and *Blacksmith's Legends*. He also read a paper before the Jewish Historical Society on *Rabbi Falk*.

Bro. Hills was initiated in the Hiram Lodge, No. 2416, in 1896, occupying the Chair in 1906; and was the Secretary for many years. This was a peculiarly suitable Lodge for him to join as its membership comprises architects and surveyors. His numerous Masonic distinctions are all given at length in the speech in which his health was proposed on the night of his Installation in our Lodge, and will be found in *A.Q.C.*, xxxi. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1897, within a year of his admission to the Craft. He was elected to full membership in October, 1914. To our *Transactions* he contributed papers on *Masonic Personalities at the end of the 18th Century* (*A.Q.C.*, xxv.); *The Rainsford Papers in the British Museum* (*A.Q.C.*, xxvi.); *Usages and Legends of Crafts kindred to Masonry* (*A.Q.C.*, xxviii.); *Freemasonry from the Autobiographies of John Britton and Rev. Richard Warner* (*A.Q.C.*, xxix.); *Admiral Sir Wm. Sydney Smith* (*A.Q.C.*, xxx.); *The Minutes of the Royal Lodge, 1777-1817* (*A.Q.C.*, xxxi.), to which he added a valuable biographical appendix of all the members; and *Women and Freemasonry* (*A.Q.C.*, xxxiii.). In 1928 he was appointed Prestonian Lecturer, and took as the subject of his address *The Life and Masonic career of William Preston*, with regard to which he was able to remove some popular misconceptions. The Lecture is printed in full in *A.Q.C.*, xli. I should also mention a valuable paper on the *Evolution of Masonic Clothing* communicated in 1916 to the Somerset Masters' Lodge. But, in addition to his own papers, he was always ready with helpful and instructive comments on other papers read in Lodge; I would like to refer in particular to his comments on Bro. Baxter's paper on *King Solomon's Temple* (*A.Q.C.*, xxxiii.), and on that by Bro. Williams on a *Masonic Pilgrimage through London* (*A.Q.C.*, xlii.) This was practically his last contribution to our pages.

In the Report presented by the Board of General Purposes at the last meeting of Grand Lodge, there is a special reference to him which I would wish to quote here. The Board say:—

The Board expresses deep regret at the death of W.Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills, *A.R.I.B.A.*, P.A.G. Sup. of Works, who held the position of Librarian of Grand Lodge from 1927 to 1935. Bro. Hills' work in the Craft in different capacities, before he joined the Staff at Freemasons' Hall, is well known to a great number of Brethren, but his services on behalf of Grand Lodge after his appointment were of even greater value. The Board is assured that every one who had met the late W.Bro. Hills in the course of his official duties, and those in distant parts who became acquainted with him through correspondence, will join in the sincere regrets now expressed at his passing away.

With these words I know every Brother present will be in complete agreement. He died on July 5th, at his beautiful old-world residence at Cookham Dene, after a long illness bravely and patiently borne.

W.Bro. D. KNOOP, I.P.M., speaking on behalf of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, offered best wishes and congratulations to the W.M. who was this day 86 years old.

Upon Ballot taken:—

Bro. *Colonel* FRANK MARTYN RICKARD, residing at The Dell Cottage, Englefield Green, Surrey. R.A. Retired. P.M. of Ubique Lodge, No. 1789, and Old Bedfordian Lodge, No. 4732, Past Grand Sword Bearer (Craft and Royal Arch), England. Author of *Oddfellowship, A.Q.C.*, xl., 1927, and Papers read before the S.R.I.A.,

and

Bro. JOHN ALFRED GRANTHAM, residing at Mellor Knowl, Wincle, nr. Macclesfield. Electrical Engineer (Retired). W.M. of Cornwall Legh Lodge, No. 3382. Member of Thomas Lockitt Lodge, No. 3371, Phoenix Lodge of St. Ann, No. 1235, etc. Past Provincial Grand Warden, Derby. Published *An Introduction to Mark Masonry*, 1934, and a Second Edition, 1935. Also *Early Freemasonry in Scotland* and other papers read before Manchester Lodge of Masonic Research, No. 5502,

were regularly elected Joining Members of the Lodge.

One Grand Lodge Library, one Library Board, three Lodges, one Lodge of Instruction and thirteen Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Coronation Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. J. Russell McLaren, Past Grand Warden; H. J. Goodwin, *Hon.* J. M. Balfour, Claude M. Browne, and W. J. von M. Pendlebury, Past Grand Deacons; V. J. Bailhache, Past Assistant Grand Registrar; R. J. Sadleir, A. T. Betteridge, P. Dale Bussell, A. L. Gladstone, A. B. Linscott, Wm. S. Mannion, *Major* George Potts, Alfred J. Thorpe, and A. H. Timms, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; *Lt.-Col.* John F. Tarrant, Past Grand Sword Bearer; T. H. Thatcher, Past Grand Standard Bearer; and Alfred E. Duesbury, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer.

The following Report of the Committee was duly received and adopted:—

The Committee have had before them the proposals of the special committee appointed to consider the financial position of the Lodge. This committee suggested various small economies that were possible; but, while these are being adopted, they can do very little to improve the position. The facts are very simple. The annual subscription to the Correspondence Circle of 10s. 6d., as fixed originally in 1887, was sufficient to meet the cost of printing the *Transactions* and other expenses connected with the Correspondence Circle up to 1914. But since then the cost of printing alone has been more than doubled, and other expenses have increased in proportion. The 1913 vol., published in 1914, cost £643. The 1933 vol., published in 1937, which, as regards size and number of illustrations, is very closely comparable with it, cost £1,213. Actually, therefore, the *Transactions* are produced at a loss which could be made up only by a very large increase in Correspondence Circle membership, which has not been obtained.

After considering every possible alternative, and consulting not only the Lodge Members but also Brethren of the Correspondence Circle, the Committee have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the only course open to the Lodge is to raise the Correspondence Circle annual subscription from

10s. 6d. to £1 1s, but at the same time temporarily to suspend the Joining Fee. The full members agreed, some time ago, to doubling their Lodge subscription, but that is a very small part of the Lodge income. The Committee accordingly submit this as their recommendation, and if it be approved, it will come into force with effect from the commencement of the next financial year, and every member of the Correspondence Circle will at once be advised of the alteration.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Clothing; Full Dress and Undress, Grand Deacon of England. Worn by W.Bro. T. J. Pettigrew, grandfather of the late Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills in 1828. The apron has both tassels and tapes to be tied in front.

Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. DONOVAN.

Aprons, formerly the property of the late Bro. E. W. Donovan:—

- (i.) Plain lamb skin, shield shaped with blue border; Master Mason, G.L. of Hamburg.
- (ii.) Linen; home made; white with black flap and border, and pink inner border; S. and C. inside an arch; and black rosettes. Probably Irish.

From the Lodge collection.

Battersea Enamel Jewel. Arms of "Moderns"; and on reverse design of W.T., Pillars, etc., in Chippendale border.

By Bro. SORRELL, Yarmouth.

Common-place book, formerly the property of G. B. Burrell, Thetford, 1809.

Contains the R.A. Gd. Chapter Regulations of 1778 with the historical introduction; parchment certificate issued by the Chapter, held in the First Regt. of Dragoon Guards, to James Parker in 1785. Various transcripts of ritual, including an R.A. Lecture in question and answer form with several peculiarities. Several Lodge summonses, engraved by Cole, Kirk, Evans, Browne, etc. Notice to James Parker that he has been elected to the K.T. Encampment at the Black Lion, Bury St. Edmunds, and is to attend for installation, 2 May 1785.

By Bro. CECIL POWELL.

Engraving representing a meeting of a Chantier of Charbonniers; three officers with as their pedestals, tree-trunks in the East. Members ranged along the N. and S. Other officers at the west. Text in English.

By Bro. W. H. GREEN.

Two bronze figures of Hindu Deities; Vishnu with the interlaced triangles; and the infant Krishna, with, on the sole of his foot, the pentacle. The latter probably Indian work, but of recent manufacture.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for Exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper:—

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY MASON.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES.

SUMMARY.

Introductory. (1) Changes in the organisation of building operations. (2) Changes in the administration of building operations: (i.) the growing importance of plans and designs; (ii.) the increase in the number of officials; (iii.) the decline in the status of the master mason. (3) Changes in employers. (4) Changes in masons' working conditions: (i.) terms employed; (ii.) wages; (iii.) holidays; (iv.) overtime; (v.) impressment; (vi.) lodges; (vii.) tools. (5) Changes in organisation among masons.



UNTIL fairly recently the attention of English economic historians was largely concentrated on the great changes in industrial processes and organisation which occurred during the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, and the industrial developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were relatively neglected. It has, however, been realised for a considerable time that the transition from small to large scale production began long before 1750, and that the improvement of technique was not a new process beginning more or less suddenly about 1733 with Kay's fly-shuttle. Indeed, a recent writer says that "there have been at least two 'industrial revolutions' in Great Britain. The first occurred in the century preceding the Civil War,"¹ that is, partly in the period with which this paper is concerned. By that time, however, large scale production and the simultaneous employment of vast numbers of workers in one enterprise were an old story in the building industry, as we have shown elsewhere.² It follows that the transition from mediæval to modern conditions in the building industry did not occur in the way, or at the time, with which the student of the later 'industrial revolution' is familiar, and we seek in the present study to throw some light on that transition, in so far as it was going on during the sixteenth century.

At the beginning we may remind the Brethren very briefly that the mediæval mason, commonly in the employment of the Crown or the Church, was ordinarily unlike the typical mediæval craftsman in that he was a wage earner instead of an economically independent small-scale employer. The enterprises on which he was engaged were usually unified or integrated in management, that is, a master mason or clerk of the works, or both, directed a complicated sequence of operations, including the digging of stone and sand, their transport by land and water, the hewing and setting of stone, the making and laying of bricks, the felling, sawing and working of timber and the various works of joiners, carvers, tilers, smiths, plumbers and glaziers. This integration had developed as early as the thirteenth century; by the middle of the fourteenth, if not earlier, standardisation in the size of rough dressed and finished stones had appeared and also a kind of mass production, not only of ashlar and

¹ J. U. Nef, *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 44, No. 3, p. 289.

² *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 2 *folg.*

mouldings, but of partly-worked images and figures. These, whether of alabaster or freestone, were commonly carved in shops at Nottingham, at Chellaston quarries, at York and in London, and dispatched to wherever required.¹

The sixteenth century was a period of outstanding importance in the history of the building industry in this country, not because it marked any sudden break in continuity, but because it saw the speeding up of certain changes which had commenced in the fifteenth century or earlier, and the beginning of other changes which did not reach their full development until the seventeenth century or later. We propose to discuss these various changes under five headings:—(i.) Changes in the organisation of building operations; (ii.) changes in the administration of building operations; (iii.) changes in employers; (iv.) changes in masons' working conditions, and (v.) changes in organisation among masons.

1. CHANGES IN THE ORGANISATION OF BUILDING OPERATIONS.

Although large building operations in the Middle Ages were generally executed on what we should now call the 'direct labour' system, smaller building jobs, and sometimes parts of larger jobs, were done by contract. Task work (*opus ad tascam*), the oldest form of contracting which can be traced, was not unknown in the thirteenth century, when the King's Master Mason and the King's Master Carpenter were ordered in 1256 to have royal building work done by task or otherwise;² and the system was actually in operation at Westminster Abbey in 1253 and at Windsor Castle as early as 1165-66.³ After the Black Death in 1348, task work of the contract variety appears to have become more common, which may perhaps be accounted for by the scarcity of labour and the need for finding more economical methods of working. Nevertheless, larger operations, such as those at Windsor Castle in 1350-65 and at Eton College in 1442-60, were still on the direct labour system, and that system was used also in the first half of the sixteenth century on important works at Hampton Court,⁴ Westminster Palace,⁵ Nonsuch Palace,⁶ and Sandgate Castle.⁷ It continued to be used in the second half of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, as, for example, at Berwick in 1557,⁸ at Hardwick Hall about 1590,⁹ and at Bolsover Castle in 1613,¹⁰ but with more parts of the work done by task or by 'bargain' than had been formerly the case.¹¹ The erection of more substantial

¹ See A. Gardener, "Alabaster Tombs of the Gothic Period", *Arch. J.*, 1923, especially 4n. and 23, and G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, 244 and 545.

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1256-59, p. 11.

³ Knoop and Jones, "The Rise of the Mason Contractor", *R.I.B.A. Journal*, Oct., 1936, pp. 1061-2.

⁴ E. Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*.

⁵ P.R.O. *T. R. Misc.*, 251 and 252. The maximum number of stoneworkers employed there in one month in 1531 was 267 (6 entailers, 99 masons, 58 hardhewers and 104 layers).

⁶ P.R.O. *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12. The maximum number of stoneworkers employed there in one month in 1538 was 146 (11 setters, 34 freemasons and lodgemen and 101 roughlayers).

⁷ W. L. Rutton, "Sandgate Castle A.D. 1539-40", *Arch. Cant.*, xx.

⁸ *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16. The maximum number of stoneworkers employed there in one month was 122 (11 masons, 23 hardhewers, and 88 layers).

⁹ B. Stallybrass, "Bess of Hardwick's Buildings and Building Accounts", *Archæologia*, lxiv.

¹⁰ Knoop and Jones, *The Bolsover Castle Building Account*, 1613 (issued in advance of *A.Q.C.*, xlix.).

¹¹ Thus, at Hardwick in 1588, there was a "bargen lett to Hollingworth and others as appereth by his Covenants" and the accounts show numerous payments "to Thomas Hollingworth and the Rest of the Wallers" for walling at 2s. a rood. (*Accounts of the Buildings at Hardwicke*, Duke of Devonshire's MS., 6, fos. 43-45v.) In 1592-93 payments, amounting to nearly £180 in twelve months, were made to John Roads, the "masson", whose acknowledgments of the sums received are preserved. Though he must by that time have been in a fair way of business, he evidently could not write his name, and signed by his mark. (*Ibid.*, fos. 146 folq.)

works by contract also appears to have become more common in the sixteenth century. St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and King's College Chapel, Cambridge, in which the main work had been done on the direct labour system in the fifteenth century, were finished by contract in the early sixteenth century.¹ Trinity College, Cambridge, let its first masonry contract in 1528-29,² having previously relied upon the direct labour system, and St. John's College, Cambridge, introduced the new system in 1598-1602, when the Second Court was erected by contractors.³ The change, however, was only gradual; thus Sir Thomas Tresham, who did a good deal of building in Northamptonshire in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, sometimes employed contractors and at other times made use of the direct labour system⁴; at Oxford, in 1610, Wadham College was being erected on the direct labour system,⁵ and Merton College was being extended by mason contractors.⁶

With the growth of the contract system, though the building operations might be larger, there occurred a decline in the scale of production in the sense that a number of relatively small firms took the place of the large 'integrated' and centrally-controlled undertakings which had characterised the building industry in the Middle Ages.

2. CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF BUILDING OPERATIONS.

The simple administrative system associated with royal mediæval building operations, viz., a master mason (assisted possibly by an under-master or by a warden) and a clerk of the works, the former responsible for the technical and the latter for the financial management of the undertaking, gradually underwent various modifications which we shall attempt to summarise under three headings:—(i.) the growing importance of plans and designs; (ii.) the increase in the number of officials, and (iii.) the decline in the status of the master mason.

(i.) *The growing importance of plans and designs.* Long before the advent of the sixteenth century, plans and designs must have played a part in all the more important building operations, and, as we have endeavoured to show elsewhere,⁷ they were masons who were mainly responsible for their preparation. On the other hand, few fifteenth century building contracts or instructions definitely refer to plans or 'plots', detailed directions concerning dimensions usually serving as an alternative.⁸ It may be noted, however, that amongst the appurtenances of the Office of Works in the middle of the fifteenth century were certain 'traceries',⁹ which were presumably drawing offices. In the sixteenth century, we find not only more references to plans or 'plots', but also indications that some of them

¹ St. J. Hope, *Windsor Castle*, ii., 384, and Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist. Univ. Camb.*, i., 479.

² Willis and Clark, ii., 454.

³ *Ibid.*, ii., 249.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com., Various*, vol. iii., pp. xxxiii. *folg.*

⁵ T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford*, 29 *folg.*

⁶ T. W. Hanson, "Halifax Builders at Oxford", *Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc.*, 1928.

⁷ Knoop and Jones, *Introduction to Freemasonry*, 25 *folg.*

⁸ *E.g.*, those contained in the Fotheringhay Church Contract, 1434 (*The Mediæval Mason*, 245 *folg.*), and in the so-called will and other documents executed by King Henry VI. in 1448, relating to Eton College and King's College, Cambridge (Willis and Clark, i., 350 *folg.*) As exceptions, it may be noted that before the Chapel at Eton was begun, a drawing or design (*portratura*) was submitted to the king in 1448-49 by Roger Keys, master of the works (Willis and Clark, i., 398); also that William Orchard, freemason, undertook in 1475 to make a great window of seven lights in the west end of Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, "according to the portraiture made by the said William" (H. A. Wilson, *Magdalen College*, 23).

⁹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1446-52, 510, and 1452-61, 286. We have to thank Mr. J. H. Harvey for drawing our attention to these references.

were prepared by persons other than masons, thus marking the beginning or the extension of a practice which ultimately led to the establishment of the profession of architecture. In this connection, it may be noted that the first English book on architecture, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, by John Shute, "paynter and archytecte", was published in 1563.¹

We may now examine, in chronological order, such evidence of planning in the sixteenth century as we have been able to collect. In Henry VII.'s will, dated 1509, there is reference to certain work at the King's Chapel, Westminster, being done "as it is ordered in the plat made for the same chapel and signed with our hand".² There is similar reference to a plat at King's College, Cambridge, in 1512.³ At Eton College, in 1510-11, Humphrey Coke was paid 6s. 8d. for making a 'plat' of the cloister, which he apparently erected by contract⁴; in 1516 Coke, a Mr. Vertue⁵ and Henry Redman⁶ were paid 6s. 8d., 13s. 4d. and 13s. 4d. respectively for making the 'plat' of the West Side of the Court, including Lupton Tower.⁷ In 1525, the Master Mason of Ely Cathedral was paid a fee by St. John's College, Cambridge, for drawing a draft of a tomb.⁸ In 1531, the Accounts relating to Westminster Palace record the payment of 8s. for "two payre skrewis for tracerye roddis provided for the maister mason to drawe with in his tracery house".⁹ The later part of the same Account shows that John Smythe, mason, was paid 5s. a week "for that he is adjoined with the maister mason in devysing and drawing".¹⁰

At the end of a book of accounts for 1532-33,¹¹ the statement of the charges of James Nedham, the accountant, includes the item "for riding to Hampton Court and being there in drawing of platts and making of molds for the new hall by the space of 22 days within the time of this accompte, at 4s. the day, £4. 8. 0", which seems to imply that Nedham drew 'platts'.¹² In the Accounts of the Surveyor General for 1543,¹³ under the heading of Manor of Ampthill, occur payments at the rate of 16d. a day to Lawrence Bradshaw, "the settar owt of worke and drawing of platte".¹⁴ In 1551, the Old Chatsworth accounts show that Roger Ward, the master mason there, was paid 20s. for drawing a

¹ A facsimile of the first edition, with an introduction by Lawrence Weaver, was published in 1912.

² G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, 2nd ed., p. 72. It is not known definitely who prepared the 'plat', but it was probably Robert Vertue, freemason (*Report of the Commission on Historical Monuments: London*, vol. 1, 6). In an estimate of 1507 for King Henry VII.'s tomb, Robert Vertue, Robert Jenyns, and John Lebons are described as the King's three master masons (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 1, pt. i., 142), and it may be that Jenyns and Lebons were partly responsible for the 'plat' of Henry VII.'s Chapel. In any case, someone other than Robert Vertue must have been responsible for much of the supervision, as he died in 1506 (Williams, *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 99), several years before the chapel was finished.

³ Willis and Clark, i., 608.

⁴ Willis and Clark, i., 415. Coke was a carpenter (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 3, part i., p. 162). He was possibly a relation of Roger Coke, carpenter, employed at York Place in 1515 (*Exch. K. R.*, 474/7).

⁵ Probably William Vertue, freemason, one of the contractors for making the choir vault of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1506 (St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, ii., 384), a brother of Robert Vertue and King's Master Mason from 1508 till his death in 1526 (Williams, *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 100-101).

⁶ Master Mason at York Place in 1515 (*Exch. K. R.*, 474/7), master mason at Westminster Abbey, 1516-28 (Rackham, *Nave of Westminster*, 63) and King's Master Mason from 1519 to his death in 1528 (Williams, *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 105, and xliii., 101).

⁷ Willis and Clark, i., 418.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii., 282.

⁹ *T. R. Misc.*, 251, fo. 106.

¹⁰ *T. R. Misc.*, 252, fo. 335.

¹¹ Bodl. Rawlinson MS. D., 775.

¹² Nedham was appointed King's Carpenter in 1531 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 5, p. 104), clerk and overseer of the King's Works in 1533 (*ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 191), and Master of the London Carpenters' Company in 1536 (Jupp and Pocock, *Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters*, p. 623).

¹³ B.M. MS., 10109.

¹⁴ Bradshaw was a carpenter and succeeded Nedham as Surveyor of Works (Jupp and Pocock, p. 623; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1547-48, p. 231).

'plat' of the new Chatsworth.¹ In a letter of November, 1576, Humphrey Mitchell, clerk of the works at Windsor Castle, suggested that Henry Hawthorne, the surveyor, should make 'plattes' of a gallery and banqueting house. The suggestion was adopted, and four of Hawthorne's 'plattes', three of the gallery and one of the banqueting house, have survived.² In 1578 William Grombald entered into a "bargain" with Sir Thomas Tresham, of Rushton, to do certain work at Rothwell Cross. Amongst other conditions, seven arches were to be wrought and set up, and ashlar was to be made, "according to the plott", and certain escutcheons were to be worked "according to a plott already drawn by the said W[illiam], showed unto the said Sir Thomas Tresham".³ In 1596, a freemason and carver named Parris was paid £6 by Sir Thomas Tresham for working certain stones for the Triangular and the Hawkfield Lodges, then under construction, and "for drawing certain platts".⁴ In 1598 Ralph Symons and Gilbert Wigge, freemasons, began to erect the Second Court of St. John's College, Cambridge, according to plans and designs prepared by themselves.⁵ As a final instance of a sixteenth century mason capable of drawing plans, we may record Walter Hancox, freemason, who was buried 16th September, 1599, at Much Wenlock, Salop. According to an entry in the parish register, he "was a very skilful man in the art of Masonry, in setting of 'plottes' for buildings and performing of the same".⁶

(ii.) *The increase in the number of officials.* The expansion in the number of officials can be traced only very roughly, but there were probably two distinct tendencies at work, viz., a growth in specialisation, which shows itself both amongst the technical and amongst the clerical staffs, and some elaboration of the central control by the Office of Works. The specialisation can be illustrated

¹ *Archæologia*, lxiv., 350.

² St. John Hope, i., 273, 276, 278.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com., Various*, iii., xxxiv.

William Grombald was a "free mason" much employed by Sir Thomas Tresham (*ibid.*, xxxiii. and 2). Very possibly he was the William Grombald, freemason, who received £37 (jointly with Thomas Hayward) for his bargain in making Fotheringay Bridge in 1573-74 (*Exch. K. R.*, 463/23). He was probably the "William Grombole master workman and freemason" engaged in August and September, 1593, on the rebuilding of the steeple of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge (J. E. Foster, *Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Mary the Great*, 248).

⁴ Note 3 above, lv. Parris was probably Andrew Paris, a carver who was paid for work at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1600-1601. Andrew Paris died during that year, and on at least two occasions the College paid relief for his sickness (Willis and Clark, ii., 483n, 487n).

⁵ Willis and Clark, ii., 248 *folg.*

Ralph Symons was probably the leading mason-architect at Cambridge at the end of the sixteenth century. He described himself in 1587 as "of Berkhamstead in the county of Hertford, freemason"; in 1598, as "of Westminster, freemason". He can first be traced at Cambridge in 1584, being responsible for the building of Emmanuel College, 1584-86; in consideration of his good work there the lease of a house was granted to him and his portrait still hangs in the gallery of the College. In 1593 he built the Great Court of Trinity College; in 1596-98 he was responsible for the erection of Sidney Sussex College; in 1598-9 he was again doing work for Trinity, but was mainly engaged from 1598 to 1602 on the erection of the Second Court of St. John's College, which he undertook by contract in partnership with Gilbert Wigge. The work did not give satisfaction and he was involved in litigation with the College. In 1604 he prepared a design for the building of the Hall of Trinity College, but a John Symes was the builder, as also of Nevile's Court, erected in 1612, though Ralph Symons in that case, too, may have been the architect. In April, 1605, however, he is described as "late of Cambridge". (Willis and Clark, i., 255; ii., 248 *folg.*, 475, 477, 517, 693, 736.)

Gilbert Wigge, who described himself in 1598 as "of Cambridge in the county of Cambridge, freemason", and in 1605 as "of Histon in the county of Cambridge", was Ralph Symons' partner in the St. John's College contract of 1598, and was a party to the subsequent litigation. In 1605 he supplied stone for paving Trinity College Hall. In 1616-18, in partnership with Henry Mann, carpenter, he built part of Walnut Tree Court at Queens' College, Cambridge. (Willis and Clark, ii., 19, 250 *folg.*, 491.)

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com., Various*, iv., 423.

from the practice at Westminster Palace in 1531,¹ where, on the technical side, John Moulton, master of the masons at 12d. the day, assisted by two wardens and by a mason "adjoined with him in devysing and planning", had as his colleagues Christopher Dyconson, master of the layers and his warden, and also a warden of the hardhewers and his associate; on the clerical side the work was shared by eight clerks.² At Dover in 1536, the clerical staff also appears to have consisted of eight, a clerk of the check, a clerk of the call, a clerk of the storehouse, a clerk of the ledger, two overseers and two purveyors.³ The part played by high officials in the administration of works is illustrated by the appearance at Hampton Court in the 1530's of a surveyor and of a controller⁴; at Sandgate Castle in 1540 of a paymaster at 4s. and of a controller at 3s. 4d. a day⁵; at Westminster, St. James and the Tower in 1549 of a surveyor at 4s. and of a controller at 2s. a day⁶; and at Berwick in 1557 of a surveyor of works at 6s. 8d. a day.⁷ In all these cases there were also numerous clerks. It may be noted that many of them did not receive as much pay as a skilled mason.

(iii.) *The decline in the status of the master mason.* The change in the position of the master mason was neither new nor sudden. Well before the end of the Middle Ages, his standing, on big undertakings, was in many cases much less than that of Walter of Hereford when he held the combined offices of Master Mason and Master of the Works at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80, and later at Caernarvon Castle.⁸ Even in an era of great building activity at Windsor Castle, about 1360, the position of the two chief masons, Master John de Sponle, master mason and *ordinator* of the works of the King's masons, and Master William Wynford, *apparellator*,⁹ was somewhat overshadowed by the prominence of William of Wykeham, the clerk who held the office of Surveyor of the King's Works in the Castle of Windsor.¹⁰ At the erection of Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century, the clerical holder of the office of Master of the Works was a much more important personage than the chief mason.¹¹ Thus the powers of surveyors and controllers in the sixteenth century, and the great increase in the number of officials, to the detriment of the position occupied by the chief mason, were only the continuation of a tendency which can be traced as early as the fourteenth century. The previously mentioned fact, too, that plans and designs in some cases were being prepared in the sixteenth century by non-masons, was no doubt another reason for the declining status of the chief mason. At Sandgate Castle in 1539-40, for example, where the planning and

¹ *T. R. Misc.*, 251 and 252.

² (i.) "him that receiveth and keepeth the . . . 'empcions' and issueth the same out again", 6d. a day.

(ii.) "him which keepeth the tale of the receipt of brick, lime and sand", 5d. a day.

(iii.) "him which delivereth out mattocks and shovels and other necessities requisite for workmen, and see they be not broken nor lost negligently", 4d. a day.

(iv.) ". . . appointed to oversee and check bricklayers and others as is before rehearsed [diggers, carriers of earth, etc.]", 6d. a day.

(v.) ". . . appointed to oversee and check masons, carpenters and others as is aforesaid [joiners, sawyers, labourers and carts at the palace]", 6d. a day.

(vi.) ". . . to keep a ledger of the 'empcions' with other books [and a check book of the artificers and labourers]", 6d. a day.

(vii.) ". . . to make the paybook, from time to time to oversee and control the other clerks' books", 8d. a day.

(viii.) ". . . paid 6d. a day "for engrossing the said pay book".

³ *Exch. K. R.*, 462/29.

⁴ E. Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*, i., 156.

⁵ *Arch. Cant.*, xx., 249, 250.

⁶ *Exch. K. R.*, 474/19.

⁷ *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16.

⁸ Knoop and Jones, *An Introduction to Freemasonry*, 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 81, and St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, i., 181.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i., 178, and Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, 24.

¹¹ Knoop and Jones, "The Building of Eton College, 1442-60", *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 74 *folg.*

designing were almost certainly done by the engineer and "devisor", Steven von Hashenperg,¹ the chief mason, at a wage of 10d. a day, was Robert Lynsted, described as warden of the masons.² It would be a great mistake, however, to think that the eclipse of the mason was total before the end of the sixteenth century; it was only partial, and mason-architects and mason-contractors, if not the mediæval kind of master mason, still flourished in the seventeenth century.

3. CHANGES IN EMPLOYERS.

It would be necessary to examine far more building accounts and many more studies based upon building accounts, than it has been possible for us to do, in order to present a comprehensive picture of building activity in the sixteenth century and of the changes in employers during that period. Consequently, we deal with the subject only in very general terms. So far as we can tell, there was but little ecclesiastical building for a good many years before the Reformation; the completion of the Nave of Westminster Abbey,³ the erection of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster,⁴ and the finishing of St. George's Chapel, Windsor,⁵ and of King's College Chapel, Cambridge,⁶ all of which took place in the first quarter of the century, were financed by the Crown, in part or in whole, and should probably be regarded as representing royal, rather than ecclesiastical, building activity. Henry VIII. was a great patron of the building crafts, both for residential and for military purposes. At York Place,⁷ Westminster Palace,⁸ Nonsuch Palace,⁹ Bridewell Palace,¹⁰ Eltham,¹¹ Grafton,¹² Dartford¹³ and Greenwich¹⁴ Henry VIII. spent greater or smaller sums, and after the death of Wolsey provided himself with yet another residence by completing the vast palace which the Cardinal had commenced at Hampton Court.¹⁵ Another building enterprise of Wolsey's, the accounts for which are preserved amongst the State Papers, was Cardinal College, Oxford.¹⁶ Amongst military works undertaken by Henry VIII., those at the Tower of London,¹⁷ Sandgate Castle,¹⁸ Calais,¹⁹ Dover,²⁰ and Beaumaris²¹ may be mentioned.

Under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, some royal building still took place, *e.g.*, at Westminster Palace, St. James, the Tower,²² Beverley,²³ Benyfield,²⁴

¹ *Arch. Cant.*, xx., 246, 247. His remuneration appears to have been charged to a different account, but there is reason to think that it was at the rate of 4s. the day.

² *Ibid*, 235. In the late summer of 1541 we find Robert Lynsted working as a mason on a much smaller job at Dartford, at a wage of 9d. the day. (*Rawl. D.*, 783.) He had with him a son, Francis, probably his apprentice, for whose services he was paid at the rate of 7d. a day. In 1543 Francis Lynsted worked on his own account at Dartford at 8d. a day.

³ Rackham, *The Nave of Westminster*, 46 folg.

⁴ G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, 2nd ed., 69 folg.

⁵ St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, ii., 384 folg.

⁶ Willis and Clark, i., 475 folg.

⁷ *Exch. K. R.*, 474/7.

⁸ *T. R. Misc.*, 251, 252; *Rawl. D.*, 775; B.M. MS., 10109.

⁹ *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12, and *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 13, pt. ii., 130 folg.

¹⁰ *Rawl. D.*, 776, 777.

¹¹ *Rawl. D.*, 777.

¹² *Rawl. D.*, 780.

¹³ *Rawl. D.*, 783, 784.

¹⁴ *Rawl. D.*, 775, 776, 777, 780.

¹⁵ E. Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*.

¹⁶ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 4, pt. ii., 1129.

¹⁷ *Rawl. D.*, 775, 778.

¹⁸ B.M. Harl. MSS., 1647, 1651, and Rutton, *Arch. Cant.*, xx., 228.

¹⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 14, pt. ii., 80 folg.

²⁰ *Exch. K. R.*, 462/29 and 30.

²¹ *Exch. K. R.*, 489/12 and 15, and Knoop and Jones, *Trans., Anglesey Antiq. Soc.*, 1935, p. 59.

²² *Exch. K. R.*, 479/19 (1549).

²³ *Exch. K. R.*, 458/24 (1548).

²⁴ *Exch. K. R.*, 481/15 (1553).

Dover,¹ Windsor Park,² Fotheringay,³ Crummock,⁴ Greenwich,⁵ Penrith Castle,⁶ Chester Castle,⁷ and Berwick,⁸ though only the last of these undertakings appears to have been on a substantial scale. On the other hand, we find a big expansion of private and corporate building in the second half of the sixteenth century, in part at least stimulated by royal gifts of lands and buildings, formerly belonging to monastic houses, such buildings being pulled down and the stone used for other purposes.⁹ This new activity can be illustrated by what took place at Cambridge,¹⁰ where substantial work was undertaken at King's in 1562, Trinity Hall in 1562-63, Gonville and Caius in 1565-75, Corpus Christi in 1579, Emmanuel in 1584-86, Peterhouse in 1590-95, Trinity in 1593 and 1598-99, Sidney Sussex in 1596-98 and St. John's in 1598-1602. Other private enterprises of this period, for which building accounts are available, are Lincoln's Inn¹¹ (1567-68), Loseley Hall¹² (1561-69) and various works of Bess of Hardwick¹³ and of Sir Thomas Tresham.¹⁴

The change in employers naturally led to a change in the type of work. Churches, palaces and castles tended to be displaced by private residences and by collegiate buildings. Public works also appear to have become more common and increasing attention appears to have been given to bridges¹⁵ and to harbour works.¹⁶

4. CHANGES IN MASONS' WORKING CONDITIONS.

(i.) *Terms employed.* The various terms used in sixteenth century building documents to describe workers in stone may be set out before an examination of some of the principal working conditions is made.

(a) *Mason* is the word used most frequently,¹⁷ sometimes in a wide sense to include all stone workers, even those dressing and setting hardstone,¹⁸ sometimes in a narrow sense, excluding workers such as setters,¹⁹ hardhewers²⁰ and layers,²¹ who are separately indicated. In this narrow sense, "mason" presumably means hewer of freestone.

¹ *Exch. K. R.*, 543/3 (1556).

² *Exch. K. R.*, 546/5 (1546-47), 497/5 (1572-73).

³ *Exch. K. R.*, 463/21, 22, 23 (1547, 1552, 1577).

⁴ *Exch. K. R.*, 462/3 (1554).

⁵ *Exch. K. R.*, 464/3 (1560).

⁶ *Exch. K. R.*, 479/13A (1577).

⁷ *Exch. K. R.*, 489/25 (1579-82).

⁸ *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16 (1557).

⁹ *The Mediæval Mason*, 189, 190.

¹⁰ Willis and Clark, *passim*.

¹¹ *Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, i., 445 *folg.*

¹² *Archæologia*, xxxvi., 284 *folg.*

¹³ B. Stallybrass, "Bess of Hardwick's Buildings and Building Accounts," *Arch.*, lxiv.

¹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections*, vol. iii., pp. xxxiii. *folg.*

¹⁵ *E.g.*, the repair of Brent Bridge in 1530 (Sharpe and Westlake, "The Mending of the Brynt Bridge", *Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S. 5), of Crummock Bridge in 1554 (*Exch. K. R.*, 462/3) and of Fotheringay Bridge in 1573-74 (*Exch. K. R.*, 463/23).

¹⁶ *E.g.*, work at Bridlington Quay in 1543 and 1544 (*Exch. K. R.*, 459/5, 6), the repair of Dover Pier in 1555-56 and 1558 (*Exch. K. R.*, 543/2 and 463/4) and the construction of the New Haven, Chester, in 1567-68 (Edna Rideout, "The Account Book of the New Haven, Chester, 1567-8", *Trans., Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1929).

¹⁷ *E.g.*, York Place, 1515 (*Exch. K. R.*, 474/7); Westminster Palace, 1531 (*T. R. Misc.*, 251); Greenwich, 1532 (*Rawlinson MS. D.*, 775); Westminster, 1533 (*ibid*); Tower of London, 1533 (*ibid*); Beaumaris, 1536-7 (*Exch. K. R.*, 489/12); Berwick, 1537 (*Exch. K. R.*, 483/14); Tower of London, 1537 (*Rawl. D.*, 780); Beaumaris, 1537-38 (*Exch. K. R.*, 489/15); Chertsey Abbey, 1538 (*Exch. K. R.*, 459/22); Dartford, 1543 (*Rawl. D.*, 784); Crummock Bridge, 1554 (*Exch. K. R.*, 462/3); Dover Castle, 1556 (*Exch. K. R.*, 543/3); Berwick, 1557 (*Exch. K. R.*, 483/16); Greenwich, 1560 (*Exch. K. R.*, 464/3); Loseley Hall, 1561-66 (*Archæologia*, xxxvi., 294 *folg.*); Fotheringay, 1573-74 (*Exch. K. R.*, 463/23); Penrith, 1577 (*Exch. K. R.*, 479/13A); Chester, 1579-82 (*Exch. K. R.*, 489/25); Hardwick, 1589-90 (*Accounts of the Buildings at Hardwicke*).

¹⁸ *E.g.*, at the Tower of London in 1537.

¹⁹ *E.g.*, at York Place in 1515 and at Berwick in 1557.

²⁰ *E.g.*, at York Place in 1515 and at Westminster in 1531.

²¹ *E.g.*, at Westminster in 1531 and at Berwick in 1557.

(b) *Freemason* occurs¹ only about half as frequently as *mason*, and signifies hewer or setter of freestone. The word appears to be equivalent to *mason* in its narrower sense; at Chertsey Abbey in 1538 the same men are sometimes described as freemasons and sometimes as masons²; a prominent craftsman, Gabriel Coldam,³ who is usually described as "mason", is occasionally described as "freemason". Only in one building account, viz., at Fotheringay Bridge in 1573-4,⁴ have we found "freemason" and "mason" contrasted: William Grombold⁵ and his servant are described as "freemasons", the other stone workers as "masons". In this instance, "mason" is doubtless used in the sense of "roughmason".

(c) *Stonehewer* occurs in the Loseley Hall building account of 1562.⁶

(d) *Setter*, either in contrast with "mason" (York Place, 1515⁷) or in contrast with "lodgeman" (Nonsuch Palace, 1538⁸), is doubtless another name for "mason setting stone" (Westminster, 1531⁹) and freemason "setting up a new stone door" (Westminster, 1542¹⁰). When a mason or freemason was employed on setting, he normally received a penny a day, or fourpence a week, extra wages.¹¹

(e) *Lodgemen*, in addition to occurring in the Nonsuch Palace Account of 1538,¹² where it refers to freemason-hewers, also occurs in the Sandgate Castle Account of 1539,¹³ where it refers to hardhewers. It doubtless owes its origin to the fact that hewers commonly worked in lodges.

(f) *Hardhewer* employed at Westminster in 1531 "working hardstone of Kent" and "setting stone"¹⁴; at Berwick in 1557 "occupied at the hardstone quarries"¹⁵; also at York Place in 1515.¹⁶

¹ Grafton, 1537 (*Rawl. D.*, 780); Chertsey Abbey, 1538 (*Exch. K. R.*, 459/22); Nonsuch Palace, 1538 (*Exch. K. R.*, 477/12); Canterbury, 1539 (*Rawl. D.*, 779); Dartford, 1541 (*Rawl. D.*, 783); Westminster, 1542 (B.M. MS., 10109); Rochester, 1542 (*Rawl. D.*, 785); Loseley Hall, 1566-69 (*Arch.*, xxxvi.); Fotheringay, 1573-74 (*Exch. K. R.*, 463/23); Cambridge, 1578 and 1594 (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, i., 65, and *Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Mary the Great*, 255 *folg.*); Rushton, 1594-95 (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Various, iii., xxxvi. and xlvii).

² *Exch. K. R.*, 459/22.

³ Gabriel Coldam [Caldam, Caldeham] can first be traced in 1530, when he was paid 10d. a day from July to November at the repair of Brent Bridge; he was also paid for stone. He had two apprentices, William Gye, at 5d. a day, and William Holmes, at 7d. a day (*Trans., Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S. 5 (1929), 452 *folg.*). In 1531 he was employed temporarily as warden at 8d. a day at Westminster Palace (*T. R. Misc.*, 251), and served in a like capacity at the Tower of London in 1533 (*Rawl. D.*, 775). In 1533 and 1534 he worked at Greenwich at 8d. a day (*Rawl. D.*, 776, 777). He was paid for stone in connection with works at Greenwich in 1532 (*Rawl. D.*, 775), Windsor in 1533 (*ibid.*), the Tower of London in 1533 (*ibid.*), the Manor of Moore in 1534 (*Rawl. D.*, 776), Greenwich in 1537 (*Rawl. D.*, 780), Canterbury Manor in 1539 (*Rawl. D.*, 779), Calais and Guisnes in 1539 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 14, pt. ii., 82 *folg.*) and Dartford in 1541 and 1543 (*Rawl. D.*, 783 and 784). He was a member of the London Company of Freemasons in 1537 (Polling List of London Voters, quoted by Conder, *Hole Craft*, p. 104, where the name is wrongly given as Gabrell Oaldham). In 1543, St. Helenes Ferme, in the parish of Estframelng, Kent, formerly belonging to St. Helen's Priory, London, was granted to him, but a year later he granted it to a William Reve (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, xviii., i., 534, and xix., ii., 321.) Much of the stone he supplied was hardstone of Kent and it is possible that he was a Kent man by origin and had connections there. Coldham is the name of a Kent village.

⁴ *Exch. K. R.*, 463/23.

⁶ *Archæologia*, xxxvi., 299.

⁸ *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12.

¹⁰ B.M. MS., 10109.

¹¹ *T. R. Misc.*, 251, and *Trans., Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S. 5 (1929), 452 *folg.*

¹² *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12.

¹³ *Arch. Cant.*, xx., 235.

¹⁴ *T. R. Misc.*, 251.

¹⁵ *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16.

¹⁶ *Exch. K. R.*, 474/7.

⁵ See note on Grombold, above.

⁷ *Exch. K. R.*, 474/7.

⁹ *T. R. Misc.*, 251.

(g) *Hardlayer* occurred at York Place in 1515¹; presumably the same as "hardhewer setting stone", paid 3s. 8d. a week at Westminster in 1531, compared with 3s. 4d. paid to ordinary hardhewers.²

(h) *Entailer*, *enteiler*, *intailer*, *intayler*=carver, employed at King's College, Cambridge, 1508,³ York Place, 1515,⁴ York Minster, 1516 and 1531⁵ and Westminster Palace, 1531.⁶ In the first two cases the entailers received the same wages as the masons, in the last case they received 1d. or 2d. a day more.

(j) *Imager*=carver, occurs in the Estimate for Making Henry VII.'s Tomb, 1507.⁷

(k) *Layer* at Berwick in 1557, "occupied about the town wall", "occupied in winning and scappling of stone at the freestone quarry".⁸

(l) *Stone layer*, Loseley Hall, 1566-69, in contrast with "freemason".⁹

(m) *Roughlayer*, in contrast with "mason", at Westminster in 1531,¹⁰ and in contrast with "freemason", at Nonsuch Palace in 1538.¹¹

(n) *Waller*, Penrith Castle, 1577, and Hardwick, 1589-90, in contrast with "mason".¹²

(o) *Roughmason* occurs at Grafton in 1537,¹³ at Canterbury in 1539,¹⁴ and at Cambridge in 1578¹⁵ in contrast with "freemason"; at Windsor in 1537, "working upon making of certain foundations of stone for the timberwork of the said bridge to stand upon",¹⁶ and at Fotheringay in 1573-74.¹⁷

(p) *Rough waller*, Penrith, 1577,¹⁸ later called "waller", apparently in contrast with "mason".

(q) *Latamus*, *lathamus* still occurred in accounts kept in Latin, such as those of Magdalen College, Oxford,¹⁹ for 'mason' in general. That appears from the fact that two men are called, on the same page,²⁰ *latami* and *rowghe masons*.

(r) *Faber lapidum*, 'artificer in stone', is used in the Magdalen College Accounts to describe one of the men who made the curious figures in the Cloister Quadrangle.²¹

(ii.) *Wages*. The outstanding feature about masons' wages in the sixteenth century was their great increase in terms of money and their great decline in terms of purchasing power. It was no doubt the rise in prices, primarily brought about by the great influx of silver from South America and Mexico, and in a lesser degree by the debasement of the coinage, which led to the increase in money wages. The rise in wholesale food prices may be roughly summarized as follows, treating the average prices in the decade 1501-10 as 100²²:—

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-----|--|-------------|---|-----|
| 1501 - 1510 | = | 100 | | 1551 - 1560 | = | 290 |
| 1511 - 1520 | = | 101 | | 1561 - 1570 | = | 260 |
| 1521 - 1530 | = | 132 | | 1571 - 1580 | = | 298 |
| 1531 - 1540 | = | 131 | | 1583 - 1592 | = | 318 |
| 1541 - 1550 | = | 180 | | 1593 - 1602 | = | 437 |

¹ *Ibid.*

³ Willis and Clark, i., 475.

⁵ Raine, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, 96 n, 104 n.

⁶ *T. R. Misc.*, 251.

⁷ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. i., pt. i., 141.

⁸ *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16.

¹⁰ *T. R. Misc.*, 251.

¹² *Exch. K. R.*, 479/13A, and *Accounts of the Buildings at Hardwicke*.

¹³ *Rawl. D.*, 780.

¹⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, i., 65.

¹⁷ *Exch. K. R.*, 463/23.

¹⁹ *Liber Computi*, 1490-1510, fos. 175v.-176.

²⁰ *Liber Computi*, 1530-42, account for 1530.

²¹ *Liber Computi*, 1490-1510, fo. 238v.

²² *The Mediæval Mason*, 237, 238.

² *T. R. Misc.*, 251.

⁴ *Exch. K. R.*, 474/7.

⁹ *Arch.*, xxxvi., 305, 306, 308.

¹¹ *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12.

¹⁴ *Rawl. D.*, 779.

¹⁶ *Rawl. D.*, 780.

¹⁸ *Exch. K. R.*, 479/13A.

It must be pointed out that the articles selected for the purpose of calculating these index numbers of prices do not include either bread or beer, two of the most important items of diet among the labouring classes, though they do include the various grains from which bread and beer were made. There is, however, some ground for thinking that the prices of bread and beer did not rise as much as the prices of the grains from which they were produced.¹ Thus the index numbers quoted may exaggerate the rise in the cost of living. It should also be noted that wage-earners, where they were paid partly in food, may not have borne the whole burden. Official wage assessments commonly lay down two scales of pay, one with food and drink, and one without, and building accounts show that provision of board for masons was not unknown. Thus Robert the Mason, while working for the Countess of Shrewsbury, the famous Bess of Hardwick, in 1588, was boarded at her expense, the cost being 3s. 8d. or 3s. 4d. a fortnight.² The provision of food and drink, not only for their indoor staffs but for agricultural and other workers, was an old practice in the households of the gentry, and it is not likely that the Countess decreased the quantity or lowered the quality in accord with market prices. That very poor quality would not be tolerated appears from a letter she wrote in 1557: "the malte cum last ys so vary yll and stynkenge as Hauks thynkes none of my workemen wyll drynke it".³ On the Crown's works in the sixteenth century, as in the Middle Ages, wage earners normally received all their wage in money, but it is possible that elsewhere the practice of boarding the workers and paying them a lower money wage was increasing.⁴

To show how money wages responded to the successive rises in price levels, we have prepared the accompanying table which sets out the predominant wages in five-yearly periods, split in three cases into two shorter periods where sufficient evidence exists to show somewhat more exactly when changes took place. Putting the matter very broadly, prices, during the course of the sixteenth century, rose fourfold and money wages twofold. The implications of these figures we have discussed elsewhere,⁵ and need not repeat the discussion here. Attention, however, may be drawn to two points brought out by the wages table. The very low figures fixed in some of the wage assessments of the last decade of the century can doubtless be explained in part by the fact that the lowest rates probably applied to agricultural or general labourers, who from time to time were engaged as masons or wallers, but continued to receive the wages of labourers. At the erection of Hardwick Hall in the late sixteenth century many of the so-called "masons" were paid sixpence a day, the same as some "wallers" and a penny less than some of the stonebreakers and labourers, though occasionally a few masons were paid 12d. or even 14d. a day.⁶ There can be little doubt that "masons" of the former type were local men, normally employed on the land, and the latter type skilled men, masons by trade, brought in from outside to do the better-class stone work. The second point brought out by the table is that wages appear to have moved up more slowly in London, or in any case at London Bridge, than they did in the rest of the country, more particularly at Oxford and Cambridge, where there was considerable building activity in the second half of the century.

¹ J. U. Nef, "Prices and Industrial Capitalism in France and England, 1540-1640", *Economic History Review*, May, 1937, p. 166.

² *Accounts of the Buildings at Hardwicke* (Duke of Devonshire's MS., 6, fos. 22-23).

³ B. Stallybrass, "Bess of Hardwick's Buildings and Building Accounts," *Archæologia*, lxiv., p. 354.

⁴ *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 212.

⁵ *The Mediæval Mason*, 201 *folg.*; also *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, 65.

⁶ *Accounts of the Buildings at Hardwicke* (Duke of Devonshire's MS., 6).

TABLE OF PREDOMINANT DAILY MONEY WAGES (WITHOUT FOOD, IN SUMMER), 1501-1600.

| Year. | London Bridge. | London District. | Oxford. | Cambridge. | Rest of England and Wales. | Wage Assessments. |
|-----------|-------------------|---|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| 1501-05 | 8d. 7½d. | | 6d. | 6d. 5d. | 6d. Stamford | |
| 1506-10 | 8d. 7½d. | 8d. ¹ | 6d. | 6½d. ² 6d. | 6d. Stamford | |
| 1511-15 | 8d. 7½d. | 7½d. ³ 6½d. ³ | 6d. | 6d. | 6d. Stamford | |
| 1516-20 | 8d. 7½d. | 8d. | 6d. | 6d. | 6d. Hickling, Bradstone | |
| 1521-25 | 8d. 7½d. | | 6d. | 6d. | | |
| 1526-30 | 8d. 7½d. | 7½d. ⁴ 6½d. ⁴ | 6d. 7d. ^{4a} | | 6d. York | |
| 1531-35 | 8d. 7½d. | 8d. ⁵ 7d. ⁵ | 6d. + | 6d. | 7d. 6d. Warwick, Lewis | |
| 1536-40 | 8d. 7½d. | 8d. ⁶ 7d. ⁶ | 6d. + | 6d. + | 7d. 6d. Birling, Abberbury, Heyford, Beaumaris ⁷ | |
| 1541-45 | 8d. 7½d. | 8d. ⁸ 7d. ⁸ | 7d. 6d. | 6d. | 6d. Beeding | |
| 1546-50 | 8d. 7½d. | 10d. ³⁶ 8d. ³⁶ | 7d. + | 7d. | | |
| 1551-55 | 9d. 8½d. | 12d. ³⁷ 8d. ⁹ | 10d. | 12d. 10d. | 8d. 6d. Crummock ¹⁰ | |
| 1556-58 | 10d. 9d. | 9d. ¹¹ | 10d. | 10d. | 11d., 10d., 9d., 8d., 7d. Berwick ¹² | |
| 1559-60 | 12d. | 12d., 11d., 9d., 8d. ¹³ | 12d. 10d. | | 10d. Portsmouth ¹⁴ | |
| 1561-65 | 12d. | 12d. 10d. | | 12d. + | 12d. Portsmouth ¹⁵ 10d. Tilney ¹⁶ , Loseley ¹⁷ | 13d. 9d. Kent ¹⁸ 13d. 9d. Rutland ¹⁹ 10d. 8d. Exeter ²⁰ |
| 1566-70 | 12d. | 16d. ²¹ 14d. ²² 12d. | 12d. 10d. | 12d. | 10d. Loseley | 6d. Chester ²³ 9d. Chester ³⁹ |
| 1571-75 | 12d. | 16d. ³⁸ 12d. | 12d. 10d. | 12d. 10½d. | 10d. Tilney, Fotheringay ²⁴ 8d. Sheffield ²⁵ | |
| 1576-77 | 12d. | 16d. 14d. 12d. | 12d. 10d. | 12d. | 12d. 10d. Penrith ²⁶ | |
| 1578-80 | 16d. 14d. 12d. | | 12d. 10d. | 12d. | 12d., 10d., 9d., 8d. Chester ²⁷ , Tilney | |
| 1581-85 | 16d. 14d. 12d. | | 12d. | 12d. | 12d., 10d., 9d., 8d. Chester | |
| 1586-90 | 16d. | | 12d. | 12d. | 10d. Tilney | 13d. London ²⁸ |
| 1591-95 | 14d. | | 12d. | 14d. ²⁹ 12d. ²⁹ | | 12d., 10d., 8d. Herts ³⁰ 10d. 8d. E. Riding ³¹ 8d. Cardigan ³² 8d. 6d. Lancs. ³³ 8d. Chester ³⁴ |
| 1596-97 | 14d. | | 12d. | | 12d. 10d. Lyveden ³⁵ | |
| 1598-1600 | 16d. | | 12d. | 14d. 12d. | | |

Note.—The London Bridge figures are based on the MS. Account Books of the Bridge, preserved at the Guildhall. All other figures, with the exceptions indicated in notes, are based on Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*.

¹ Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, i., 158; *Mediæval Records of a London City Church* (E.E.T.S.), 275. ² Willis and Clark, i., 475. ³ York Place (*Exch. K. R.*, 474/7).

⁴ Tower of London (*Rawl. D.*, 778). ^{4a} Magd. Coll. Lib. Comput., 1530-42, laying freestone. ⁵ Westminster (*T. R. Misc.*, 251), Greenwich, Windsor, The Tower (*Rawl. D.*, 775).

⁶ Windsor, Grafton (*Rawl. D.*, 780), Nonsuch (*Exch. K. R.*, 477/12), Chertsey Abbey (*Exch. K. R.*, 459/12), Canterbury (*Rawl. D.*, 779), Sandgate (*Arch. Cant.*, xx.). ⁷ *Exch. K. R.*, 489/12 and 15. ⁸ Rochester (*Rawl. D.*, 784), Windsor (*Rawl. D.*, 781), Dartford (*Rawl. D.*, 783), Westminster (B.M. MS., 10109).

⁹ Dover (*Exch. K. R.*, 543/12). ¹⁰ *Exch. K. R.*, 462/3. ¹¹ Dover (*Exch. K. R.*, 543/3). ¹² *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16. ¹³ Greenwich (*Exch. K. R.*, 464/3).

¹⁴ J. F. Williams, *Hampshire Churchwardens' Accounts*, 203. ¹⁵ *ibid*, 204. ¹⁶ A. D. Stallard, *Churchwardens' Accounts of Tilney All Saints*, 198.

¹⁷ *Arch.*, xxxvi., 296 folg. ¹⁸ E.H.R., April, 1926. ¹⁹ Rogers, iv., 122. ²⁰ Hist. MSS. Com., *Exeter MSS.*, 55.

²¹ Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, 351. ²² *Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, 463. ²³ Morris, *Chester*, 306. ²⁴ *Exch. K. R.*, 463/23. ²⁵ *Trans.*, Hunter Arch. Soc, iii., 68 folg.

²⁶ *Exch. K. R.*, 479/13a. ²⁷ *Exch. K. R.*, 489/25. ²⁸ Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, i., 369. ²⁹ J. E. Foster, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*, 247 folg.

Our study of sixteenth century building accounts throws some light on three other problems. It shows, in the first place, that when a freemason or hewer acted as setter, he was paid a higher wage: at Nonsuch Palace in 1538 his remuneration went up from 3s. 4d. to 3s. 8d. a week whilst so acting,¹ just as had been the case in the previous century at Eton College.² The same was true at Brent Bridge in 1530, the masons normally in receipt of 8d. a day being paid 9d. whilst setting.³ It shows, in the second place, that a mason received better remuneration in private employment than when employed on the King's works. Thus Gabriel Coldam, who was paid 10d. a day at the repair of Brent Bridge, carried out at the joint expense of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot of Westminster in 1530,⁴ received 8d. a day at Westminster Palace in 1531,⁵ and at Greenwich in 1532.⁶ Perse and Symon Kyngsfeld, Robert Smyth and William Godfrey, paid 8d. a day as hewers at Brent Bridge, received 3s. 4d. a week at Westminster Palace in 1531, a sum which the first three received also at the Tower of London in 1535.⁷ It shows, in the third place, that there was some decline in the practice of reducing wages in winter. Where wages were fixed by Parliament⁸ or by the Justices of the Peace in accordance with the Statute of Artificers,⁹ a distinction was generally made between summer and winter rates. Most of the sixteenth century building accounts we have examined do not relate to the winter months, but of those which do, only two show a reduction of rates in winter. At Westminster in November, 1531,¹⁰ masons were reduced from 3s. 4d. to 3s. a week and setters from 3s. 8d. to 3s. 4d., though entailers, hardhewers and layers suffered no reduction. At London Bridge during the first half of the sixteenth century¹¹ the ordinary rate of 8d. a day was reduced to 7½d. in November, December and January. On the other hand, no reductions were made at Brent Bridge in November, 1530,¹² at the Tower of London in the winter of 1535-36,¹³ at Dartford in the winters of 1541-42 and 1543-44,¹⁴ or at Berwick in January and November, 1557.¹⁵ We think it possible that the absence of reduction was an indirect method of compensating craftsmen for the increasing cost of living.

(iii.) *Holidays.* Reliable information concerning holidays, with or without pay, as the case may be, can generally be obtained only from those building accounts which were kept in the form of a register, or which contain some special entry, such as that in the Brent Bridge Account, 1530,¹⁶ for the week ending July 30th:—

That the said Gabriell [Caldam], Kyngysfeld, Parker and Tukker, masons, claim to have their wage for Seynt Annys day because there was this week ii holidays the which is yet respected.

The second holiday referred to was probably St. James (July 25) and the masons claimed to be paid for one holiday according to an old custom, which was observed

³⁰ *Hertford County Records*, i., 8. ³¹ Rogers, vi., 688. ³² *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, i., No. 175. ³³ Rogers, vi., 691. ³⁴ Morris, *Chester*, 306.
³⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com., Various*, iii., lv. ³⁶ Waterlow, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, St. Michael, Cornhill, 75, 85. ³⁷ *ibid*, 95. ³⁸ *ibid*, 168. ³⁹ Rideout, *Account Book of the New Haven, Chester*, 1567-8, 22.

¹ *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12. ² *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 87.
³ Sharpe and Westlake, "The Mending of the Brynt Bridge", *Trans., Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., 5 (1929), 452 *folq.*
⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *T. R. Misc.*, 251.
⁶ *Rawl. D.*, 776. ⁷ *Rawl. D.*, 778.
⁸ *E.g.*, 6 Henry VIII., c.3. ⁹ *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 239
¹⁰ *T. R. Misc.*, 251, 252.
¹¹ Knoop and Jones, "London Bridge and its Builders," *A.Q.C.*, xlvii.
¹² *Trans., Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S.5.
¹³ *Rawl. D.*, 778. ¹⁴ *Rawl. D.*, 783, 784.
¹⁵ *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16.
¹⁶ *Trans., Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., vol. 5 (1929), 452 *folq.*

at York Place in 1515,¹ that where two feasts fell in the same week the masons lost only one day's pay, though if three feasts occurred, they lost half a week's pay.² The entry is interesting also because of its suggestion that Saints' days were no longer being respected as in former times. This no doubt did come to pass, but a Tower of London Account for 1535-36³ shows an actual increase in the number of holidays compared with Eton College in 1444-45 (38 days) and 1445-46 (43 days).⁴ At the Tower in 1535-36, 51 days were observed as holidays by the masons, 27 with pay and 24 without. Apart from four feasts which fell on Sunday in 1535,⁵ all feasts observed at Eton in 1444-46, with the exception of Good Friday, Ascension day and St. Hugh, were observed at the Tower in 1535-36, and in addition St. John (May 6), St. Anne (July 26), the Four Crowned Martyrs (November 8) and St. Catherine (November 25), together with three extra days at Easter and six at Christmas. Of the 24 holidays without pay, 13 were accounted for by Christmas Day and the following fortnight, six by Easter week, three by Whitsun, one by All Souls Day (very possibly because All Saints day was a holiday with pay) and one by November 8, the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati. This is the only definite case, apart from Eton College in 1453, 1456, 1458 and 1459,⁶ where we have found the masons taking a holiday on the Feast of the Four Crowned Martyrs, and, as at Eton eighty years previously, they received no wages in respect of that particular holiday.⁷ At Brent Bridge in 1530,⁸ at Dartford in 1541⁹ and at Westminster in 1542¹⁰ the masons worked on November 8.

At Dartford, where overlapping accounts exist for parts of 1541, 1542 and 1543,¹¹ it is possible to construct a calendar for a composite year which shows that apart from 24 days at Easter, Whitsun and Christmas, 20 feasts (with pay) were observed by the masons, compared with 30 (27 with and three without pay) at the Tower in 1535-36, so that it is roughly true to say that a 33 per cent. reduction in the observation of saints days had taken place between 1535 and 1541-43. To judge by the Berwick Account for 1557,¹² holidays had almost entirely disappeared by that year. Between 11th January and 14th November, the only days which appear to have been observed as holidays were February 2nd (Purification V. M.) and one day at Easter. The hardhewers, the master mason and the warden were paid for these two holidays; the masons and the labourers, who were probably all local men, were not paid.

Our study of sixteenth century building accounts reveals one other interesting point concerning holidays. At Brent Bridge in 1530, where four apprentices were employed at one time or another, no wage was paid in respect of apprentices' holidays,¹³ and the same thing appears to have been true of an apprentice who worked at the Tower of London in October and November, 1535.¹⁴

¹ *Exch. K. R.*, 474/7.

² *The Mediæval Mason*, 119.

³ *Rawl. D.*, 778.

⁴ *The Mediæval Mason*, 119, 120.

⁵ St. Matthias, St. Mark, St. James, Assumption V.M.

⁶ Knoop and Jones, "The Building of Eton College, 1442-60," *A.Q.C.*, xlvii., 86.

⁷ The entry in the Tower wage register in respect of three masons is • (= absent) and not + (= holiday without pay). In the case of the fourth and only other mason, the entry is O (= day worked and paid for). We interpret this to mean that three of the four masons took a day off on November 8, but that the employers did not recognize the Feast, even to the extent that they had done at Eton in the 1450's, where, though no wage was paid, it was indicated in the wage register that work was stopped on account of the Feast of the Four Crowned Martyrs (*ibid.*, photo facing 86).

⁸ *Trans., Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S.5.

⁹ *Rawl. D.*, 783.

¹⁰ B.M. MS., 10109.

¹¹ *Rawl. D.*, 783, 784.

¹² *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16.

¹³ *Trans., Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., v. (1929), 452 *folq.*

¹⁴ *Rawl. D.*, 778.

(iv.) *Overtime.* Long before the Industrial Revolution and the coming of the factory system, overtime in all its various forms—encroachment upon mealtimes, evening work, night work, employment on Saturday afternoons, on Sundays and on recognized holidays—can be traced in the English building industry, as the surviving building accounts of the sixteenth century clearly show. It was apt to be required not only of masons, but of all categories of building artificers and labourers. We have found no example of systematic overtime before the sixteenth century,¹ and are inclined to attribute its appearance in the reign of Henry VIII. to the great speeding up of building which took place at that period. The leisurely methods of the Middle Ages, as illustrated by the rebuilding of the Nave of Westminster Abbey between 1376 and 1528,² yielded to something approaching modern hustle, which permitted of Sandgate Castle being completely erected in eighteen months in 1539-40.³ It was not only works of defence, however, which were treated as very urgent; a similar speed was shown in the erection of royal residences. As we have discussed the subject elsewhere,⁴ we content ourselves here with giving a single example of each type of overtime:—

Encroachment upon mealtimes. During the five weeks ending 13 July, 1538, 40 freemasons and 63 layers at Nonsuch Palace worked their “hour times and drinking times”, some as few as five “hours”, others as many as 47.⁵

Evening and Saturday afternoon work. At Dartford,⁶ in the week commencing 27 February, 1542, a mason named John Ayllyn was paid for a half day’s overtime (probably equivalent to four hours) on the Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, when it was presumably worked from about 5.30 to 9.30 p.m., and again on the Saturday, when it was probably worked in the late afternoon, as there is some reason for thinking that Saturday was a short day.⁷

Work on recognized holidays. In 1541, Robert Lynsted, the senior mason at Dartford, who worked on Assumption V.M. (August 15), St. Bartholomew (August 24) and Nativity V.M. (September 8), which would normally have been holidays with pay, received double pay for so working.⁸

Work on Sundays. At the manor of Canterbury, all the freemasons worked on Sunday, October 19 and October 26, 1539.⁹

Night work. In May, 1531, 24 layers at Westminster worked at night (in addition to day work), two being paid for five nights, two for four nights, two for three nights, eight for two nights, and ten for one night.¹⁰

(v.) *Impressment.* The system of impressing masons to work on royal building operations, so common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,¹¹ is still to be

¹ Some of the occasional bonuses and rewards granted to masons and other artificers in the fifteenth century “for their diligence” (*The Mediæval Mason*, 114 *folg.*), would appear to have been early examples of casual overtime payments, e.g., “Rewards made to carpenters . . . setters . . . for their diligent labour both in holiday times and at other times at night . . . £6 2s. 2d. (*Eton College Building Account*, 1445-46).

² R. B. Rackham, “The Nave of Westminster Abbey”, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, iv.

³ W. L. Rutton, “Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40”, *Arch Cant.*, xx.

⁴ “Overtime in the age of Henry VIII.”, *Economic History*, February, 1938.

⁵ *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12.

⁶ *Rawl. D.*, 783.

⁷ *The Mediæval Mason*, 120.

⁸ *Rawl. D.*, 783.

⁹ *Rawl. D.*, 779.

¹⁰ *T. R. Misc.*, 251.

¹¹ Knoop and Jones, “The Impressment of Masons in the Middle Ages”, *Economic History Review*, November, 1937, and Knoop and Jones, “The Impressment of Masons for Windsor Castle, 1360-63”, *Economic History*, February, 1937.

found in the sixteenth. Our information is mostly due to the fact that 'preste money', at the rate either of 6d. per 20 miles, or of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile, was paid to the men who were taken. Thus at York Place in 1515 six masons were paid 12d. each for the journey from Cambridge, and one 9d. for the journey from Walden.¹ At Westminster Palace in 1531, on four separate occasions men were paid for riding to take masons; the building account does not show the places where they were impressed, but the numbers and payments are indicated, showing that 132 masons were taken, and were paid 'preste money' in respect of the following distances²:—

| 1 for 20 miles | 3 for 70 miles | 4 for 110 miles |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 71 „ 30 „ | 5 „ 80 „ | 4 „ 115 „ |
| 5 „ 40 „ | 1 „ 90 „ | 8 „ 120 „ |
| 4 „ 50 „ | 2 „ 95 „ | 1 „ 130 „ |
| 7 „ 60 „ | 13 „ 100 „ | 3 „ 150 „ |

At Nonsuch Palace in 1538, one freemason was paid his expenses for riding thirty days in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire arresting and taking up masons, and another his expenses for ten days on the same errand in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire. In all, they brought back five freemasons and thirty-three roughlayers, who received 'preste money' as follows³:—

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 4 in respect of 20 miles | 22 in respect of 60 miles |
| 4 in respect of 40 miles | 8 in respect of 80 miles |

At Sandgate Castle in 1539 and 1540, masons were impressed on four occasions, 211 men being taken in all, more than half of whom were taken in the West Country.⁴ At Berwick, in 1557, eight hardhewers were impressed in Kent, being paid 12s. 8d. each in respect of 304 miles from Maidstone to Berwick.⁵ In 1562-63, at Trinity College, Cambridge, Thomas Warde was paid 4s. 8d. "going with the Commission into Northamptonshire and Lincoln for freemasons" and several masons received "press money or charges coming to Cambridge".⁶ In 1564, when the erection of the New Court of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, was about to begin, a commission was obtained by Dr. Caius from Queen Elizabeth protecting the workmen on the building from impressment for a period of five years, which is further evidence that the system of impressment was still in vogue at that date. As this commission implies, masons were not the only workmen to be pressed; we know that tilers were impressed for work at Greenwich in 1532,⁷ bricklayers for work at the Tower of London in 1533,⁸ and that artificers were arrested and taken by commission from different places for work at Cardinal [Christ Church] College in 1526, a sum of £20 5s. 5d. being paid to them for their costs in travelling to Oxford.⁹ Masons were pressed for the works at Dover Pier in 1580.¹⁰

Indirect evidence of the impressment of masons for service at Calais in 1539 is contained in the surviving Accounts which show that there was paid in September, 1539, "to 23 masons for conduct money from Calais to London 3s. each",¹¹ presumably on their discharge from pressed service.

¹ P.R.O., *Exch. K. R.*, 474/7.

² P.R.O., *T. R. Misc.*, 251.

³ P.R.O., *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12.

⁴ W. L. Rutton, "Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-1540", *Arch. Cant.*, xx., 235.

⁵ P.R.O., *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16.

⁶ Willis and Clark, ii., 568 n.

⁷ Bodleian Rawlinson MS. D., 775.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 4., pt. ii., 1,130.

¹⁰ *State Papers Domestic*, 1547-1580, p. 674.

¹¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 14., pt. ii., 89.

(vi.) *Lodges.* In the sixteenth century accounts we have examined, we have not come across many references to lodges. At Trinity College, Cambridge, a masons' lodge was built in 1518-19.¹ At Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, two labourers were paid in 1513 for cleaning "the logge for the fire-masons" and a carpenter was paid in 1594 for "covering the 'worke howse' with boards for the masons".² In connection with the erection of Sandgate Castle, a lodge was built in the quarry in 1539.³ At Westminster in June, 1531, twopence was paid for a pair of hooks for the door of the masons' lodge; in July, a smith was paid for a "stocklock with staple set upon a door of a lodge in Endyve Lane wherein certain hardhewers work"; in September, there were purchased "4 bolts set upon 4 doors appertaining to certain of the lodges wherein the masons work".⁴ Thus we learn that at Westminster the hardhewers had a lodge of their own; also, that the masons had several lodges. It seems probable, however, that some of the stones were cut or carved after being set in position; for in September, 1531, masts of fir were bought "for a frame made over the new gatehouse covered with canvas for workmen to work dry under in all weathers" and payments amounting to £3 16s. 10½d. were made to tentmakers and tailors altering old tents to cover the gatehouse frame to keep the workmen dry.⁵ This outlay connected with the gatehouse in 1531 may be compared with that incurred for 50 beechboards purchased at Westminster in 1332, in order to cover the stonemasons at work in the front of the Chapel and protect them from wind and rain.⁶

(vii.) *Tools.* The practice regarding the supply and maintenance of tools appears to have been much the same in the first half of the sixteenth century as at an earlier period.⁷

(i.) Those responsible for the building operations bore the cost of sharpening, battering and steeling the masons' tools. The recognized rates of payments to smiths appear to have been as follows:—

Battering hardstone points and chisels,⁸ hardhewers' tools⁹ and small tools for masons,¹⁰ 1d. for 10.

Battering masons' and rough-masons' axes,¹¹ 1d. for 3.

Battering wedges,¹² scappling hammers¹³ and masons' and rough-masons' hammers,¹⁴ 1d. each.

Steeling points and chisels with the queen's steel and iron,¹⁵ 1d. each.

At Westminster in 1531¹⁶ and at the Tower of London in 1535,¹⁷ "steeling money" at the rate of 6d. the quarter or 12d. the half year was paid to masons

¹ Willis and Clark, ii., 452.

² J. E. Foster, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*, 17, 254.

³ W. L. Rutton, "Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40", *Arch. Cant.*, xx., 232.

⁴ *T. R. Misc.*, 251, 252.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace at Westminster*, 200.

⁷ See *The Mediæval Mason*, 62 *folg.*

⁸ Berwick, 1557 (*Exch. K. R.*, 483/16).

⁹ Manor of More, 1535 (*Rawl. D.*, 777).

¹⁰ Westminster, 1531 (*T. R. Misc.*, 251), and Nonsuch, 1538 (*Exch. K. R.*, 477/12).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Berwick, 1557.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Westminster, 1531.

¹⁵ Berwick, 1557.

¹⁶ *T. R. Misc.*, 252.

¹⁷ *Rawl. D.*, 778.

and hardhewers, presumably instead of having their tools steeled for them. At London Bridge in 1541-42, four masons were paid 18d. for the year and one 9d. for the half year, for the steeling of their tools.¹

(ii.) Those responsible for the building operations provided certain tools which were purchased from smiths, frequently by weight, at 2d. or 1½d. the lb.; at Westminster in 1531² and 1533,³ at Nonsuch in 1538⁴ and at Berwick in 1557,⁵ various hammers,⁶ axes,⁷ chisels,⁸ trowels⁹ and saws¹⁰ were so purchased.

(iii.) There is some evidence to suggest that at Norwich about 1560¹¹ masons provided certain tools of their own, *e.g.*, squares, level and plumbrules, of which we have noted no mention in the Westminster, Nonsuch and Berwick accounts, and also hammer-axes, brickaxes, pickaxes and trowels. These latter tools, however, were provided by the Crown at Westminster, Nonsuch and Berwick, so that the practice obviously varied, so far as these particular tools were concerned.

5. CHANGES IN ORGANISATION AMONG MASONS.

As the only positive reference to masons' "customs" as such, with which we are acquainted, occurs in 1539 in connection with the erection of Sandgate Castle,¹² it is probable that as late as 1539 what was presumably a revised version of the mediæval "customs", as embodied in the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., was still observed. Further investigation is necessary to determine how far the changes in the building industry, which we have noted in this paper, were accompanied by changes in the regulations of the masons' craft. It is probable that the old system of regional "assemblies" administering the "customs", in so far as it really existed during the Middle Ages, slowly disintegrated. Here and there it may have been replaced by the ordinances of the municipal companies, equipped with charters and usually including other crafts as well as that of the mason, which were set up in some towns in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹³ Outside the towns, the old system may have decayed without being replaced by anything more than such regulation as the county justices were able to impose in accordance with the Statute of Artificers, 1563. The obsolescence of the "assembly" would presumably mean that the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* ceased to be the embodiment of living regulations governing operative masons, and that the process of periodic revision came to an end. Thenceforward the MS. *Constitutions* would have little or no practical interest to operative masons, though they remain of great interest to speculative masons.

¹ Knoop and Jones, "London Bridge and its Builders", *A.Q.C.*, xlvii.

² *T. R. Misc.*, 251, 252.

³ *Rawl. D.*, 775.

⁴ *Exch. K. R.*, 477/12.

⁵ *Exch. K. R.*, 483/16.

⁶ Six great sledges (Berwick); a great hammer called 'pilcharde', 12 scappling hammers for roughmasons at 8d., 12 flint hammers for roughlayers at 4d., 24 setting hammers, 16 hammers for masons at 8d., 15 hammers for roughlayers (Westminster, 1531); 15 hammers for setters at 4d. (Nonsuch).

⁷ A mattock for masons to hew stone with, a stone axe (Westminster, 1533); 46 pick axes (Berwick).

⁸ Fourteen points and chisels (Berwick); six chisels for masons to set stone at 5d., four setting chisels at 6d. (Westminster, 1531).

⁹ Six trowels for setters at 6d., 15 trowels for masons at 6d. (Westminster, 1531).

¹⁰ Two handsaws for masons requisite for cutting stone, 2s. (Westminster 1531).

¹¹ *The Mediæval Mason*, 66.

¹² The accounts (B. M. *Harl. MS.*, 1647, fo. 109) show that the Jurat of Folkestone had communication with the master controller at Sandgate "concerning the use and custom of freemasons and hardhewers".

¹³ *The Mediæval Mason*, 229 *folg.*

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Knoop for his valuable paper on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. F. W. Golby; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. O. Manton and Geo. W. Bullamore.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The Churchwarden's Accounts for Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, for the sixteenth century have been preserved, and throughout the period the old system of payment by the day seems to have been adhered to. Labour and material are distinct items, and although the time occupied is not always given it doubtless formed the basis of the payment. An exception is that of the pavior who was paid by the square yard and the glazier who was paid by the square foot. The lead and the glass were extras, and 200 holes were mended on one occasion at a penny each. Skilled advice was sometimes obtained. Rotheram, freemason, to whom sundry payments were made for work in 1534, received fourpence as Father Rotheram in 1545, when he viewed the steeple. In the same year John Dowsey, the carpenter, was paid fourpence for viewing some timber at the Black Friars. On another occasion a goldsmith was paid fourpence for counsel concerning some jewels that were to be sold.

In the first half of the century no mention is made of rough masons and a mason of one entry is the freemason of another item. When the steeple was rebuilt in 1592-3-4, however, we find a variety of payments based on the qualifications of the workmen. Comparisons with earlier payments suggest that they were double the amount paid fifty years before.

In 1515 Andrew Mason and his labourer received 5s. for five days work. In 1546 a mason and his man received tenpence for one day; two masons and two labourers received twentypence. In 1593 Richard Vickers, Rough mason, received a shilling a day and his man was paid eightpence. A shilling a day appears to have been the standard rate of pay for a rough mason, but the son of one of them who had been utilised for odd jobs was paid tenpence as a rough mason. The standard pay for a freemason was apparently 1s. 2d., but a few men, one of whom bore the appropriate name of John Ashlar, were paid a shilling. John Grombole and Daniel Lightfoot were paid 1s. 4d., probably because they were setters; and Robert Gromble and William Gromble received eighteenpence as master workmen and freemasons. John Grombole's man and also a son who worked with his father were paid tenpence.

Gratuities were also given as well as drink, or bread and beer, on special occasions. Three consecutive entries in 1593 show that 2s. 6d. was given in reward to "our master workman Robert Gromble when he went home at the end of the year, 3/4^d. to the chief setter Daniel Lightfoot for his great pains in saving much scaffolding, and sixpence to William Ebbes, freemason in reward at his going home".

The only mention of a plan I can find is in 1592, when a painter received eighteenpence for drawing "a plotform of Stonaries Steeple apon velam parchement for my Lorde Arche Bisshop of Caunterburie".

These accounts show that, although there was a general increase in the cost of materials, freestone or ashlar was 6s. 8d. per ton in 1522 and also in 1592.

Bro. J. O. MANTON *writes*:—

- (ii.) Increase in the number of officials.
- (iii.) Decline in the status of Master Masons.

Were the "high officials in the administration of works"—surveyors and controllers (16th c.)—personages of distinction in practical building construction, and sufficiently so as to warrant their supervision of a chief Mason "to the

detriment of his position"—a chief mason technically competent "in devysing and planning" and satisfactorily completing large and important buildings? Or were (so far as can now be fairly assumed) such appointments as surveyors and controllers, who required "a great increase in the number of officials", due to the placing, by influential individuals, of persons in lucrative positions whose qualifications were not equal to such positions?

It is interesting to establish the beginnings of beneficial or pernicious practices. Our present histories of the past quote largely those who have figured in high places. The true history of "the people" has yet to be written.

Bro. KNOOP *writes*, in reply:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself, I have to thank the Brethren for their kind reception of our paper, and more particularly to thank Bro. Bullamore and Bro. Manton for the trouble they took in preparing written comments. As the paper was issued in pamphlet form, from the *A.Q.C.* type, very shortly after it was read in Lodge, it is reprinted here exactly as it first appeared.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

MONDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1937.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. G. Elkington, P.G.D., W.M.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., I.P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., as S.W.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., J.D.; B. Ivanoff, I.G.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Love, P.A.G.Purs.; R. A. Card; C. B. Mirrlees; Geo. C. Williams; E. Eyles; C. F. Sykes; F. Addington Hall; A. F. G. Warrington; C. A. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; R. Henderson Bland; F. B. Box; F. A. Greene; Wm. Edwardson; Jas. J. Cooper; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; A. F. Cross; A. F. Ford; H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B.; Chas. H. Lovell; G. T. Harley-Thomas, P.G.D.; R. A. L. Harland; J. F. H. Gilbard; Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, D.D., P.G.Ch.; F. L. Morfee Walsh; T. E. Rces; A. F. Hatten; T. M. Scott; Robt. Ives; Col. C. G. Astley Cooper; F. C. Guildford; R. R. Hayne; O. H. Bell; N. F. Wills; A. E. Gurney; H. D. Elkington; H. G. Ridge; Wilfrid Ellis; F. L. Edwards, and Alfred H. Smith.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. T. H. Coulson, P.M., Holden Lodge No. 2946; F. M. Leslie, P.M., Lodge Humility with Fortitude No. 229; Albert Le Fre, P.A.G.St.B.; Luther J. Soutter, Westminster Hospital Lodge No. 5292; Percy C. Webb, P.A.G.D.C.; H. C. Taylor, Lodge of Faith No. 141; David T. Davies, L.R., P.M., Panmure Lodge No. 723; H. M. Ridge, P.M., Prometheus Lodge No. 4209; and R. Whitward Gray, P.A.G.D.C.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. B. Telepneff; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; F. L. Pick; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch.; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; and W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down.

Upon Ballot taken:—

BRO. FRED LOMAX PICK, F.C.I.S., residing at 25, College Road, Oldham, Lancashire. Chartered Secretary. Vale of Catmos Lodge No. 1265, S.D. No. 277, and J.W. No. 5502. Author of Papers in *Transactions* of Lodge No. 5502, *The Lodge of Friendship* No. 277, 1931; *The Early Victorian Freemason*, 1934; and *Preston Gild*, 1935. Also in *Misc. Lat.*, *Mark Masonry in Oldham and the Travelling Mark Lodge*, 1932, and .

BRO. HUBERT CARPENTER BRISTOWE, M.D., residing at 3, Upper Belgrave Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8. Doctor of Medicine. P.M., Somerset Masters Lodge No. 3746, and Lodge of Agriculture No. 1199. Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. Papers read before Bristol Masonic Society:—*Initiation*, *Presidential Address*, and *Symbolism of the Pillars*.

of the Porch. Also Inaugural Address as W.M. of Somerset Masters Lodge, etc.,
were regularly elected Joining members of the Lodge.

One Lodge and thirteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Frederick William Golby, P.A.G.D.C., the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. D. Knoop, assisted by Bros. S. J. Fenton, Lewis Edwards and H. Bladon.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

| | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Bro. S. J. Fenton | S.W. |
| „ C. C. Adams | J.W. |
| „ W. W. Covey-Crump | Chaplain |
| „ W. J. Songhurst | Treasurer |
| „ Lionel Vibert | Secretary |
| „ J. P. Simpson | D.C. |
| „ B. Ivanoff | S.D. |
| „ L. Edwards | J.D. |
| „ F. M. Rickard | I.G. |
| „ W. Jenkinson | Stew. |
| „ J. A. Grantham | Stew. |
| „ G. H. Ruddie | Tyler |

The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That Brother George Elkington, *F.R.I.B.A.*, P.G.D., having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair, and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge; and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.”

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Lent by Bro. G. C. WILLIAMS.

Apron and Collar, green, sequin ornament. No flap, or backing. Uncertain origin.

From the Lodge collection.

Gavel and set of Square, Level and Plumb-rule, in case. Presented to His Grace the Archbishop of Melbourne on the occasion of his laying the foundation stone of St. Peters Church, Murrumbene; 7 June 1924.

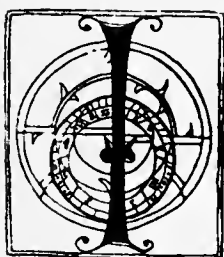
The R. Revd. Harrington Clare Lees, D.D.
Archbishop of Melbourne 1923-1929.
Member of No. 4172 Penrice, Swansea.
Founder and first S.W. of Old Melburnians, No. 317,
Victoria Constitution, 1923; Master, 1924.
Gd. Chaplain, G.L. Vic. 1927.
Died at Melbourne 11 Jan. 1929.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for Exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

The W.M. delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

SUMMER OUTINGS OF QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE.



AM very grateful to you, Brethren, for having unanimously elected me as the Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. The Lodge is known throughout the Masonic world as the premier Lodge of Research; and I esteem it as the fitting culmination of my Masonic Career and as a very great honour indeed to be elected as the Master for the current year. I will do my best for the Lodge and I hope that in the coming year I may deserve your confidence in me.

It is the custom in this Lodge for the incoming Master to give an Inaugural Address and I have spent some little time in making up my mind what I should choose for my subject. The particular matters with which I may claim to be qualified to deal, and to which I have devoted most of my Masonic career, are not such as lend themselves to reproduction in print. I could have wished to put before you biographical studies of BROADFOOT, or MUGGERIDGE, or some of the other great leaders to whom we owe the preservation of our ritual. But unfortunately the material is so scanty that there is not sufficient to take up more than a few minutes in the telling. Such information as is available I put before the Craft in my *CENTURY OF STABILITY*.

It has occurred to me, however, that a survey of our Summer Outings might be well worth making, that the Brethren might be brought to realise, as perhaps they have hardly done, how much is accomplished in the way of genuine archæological and masonic research at those cheerful gatherings, quite apart from the opportunity they afford of making new, and renewing old, friendships. I have therefore analysed the work done on all our Outings since the series was resumed after the War. To take it further back would have meant having to deal with an unmanageable mass of material.

I was so much impressed with the first Outing which I attended, that at Bristol in 1920, that I then decided to be present at every one of the subsequent Outings and I have been at every one since, with the single exception of the one-day Outing to Rochester, which was substituted for the visit to Norfolk in 1931, and which can hardly claim to rank as one of the series.

During the period under review we have visited Kent, Dorset, Devon, Somerset, Warwickshire, most of the Midlands, Yorkshire, Durham and Scotland. The only important areas that we have not been able to include in any programmes are Lincolnshire and East Anglia. Lincoln is a difficulty owing to inadequate Hotel accommodation. For Norfolk our Outing was all planned for 1931; but after the tragically sudden death of our Master, Bro. Gilbert Daynes, in January of that year, the Outing was abandoned. We may hope that at some future date we shall have an opportunity to visit the Province, which has much of interest to show us, both archæologically and masonically.

In making my analysis I have myself been astonished at the length of the lists. During the period, we have visited 14 Cathedrals and 25 Abbeys or Priors, or ruins of them, while the number of Parish Churches is even larger. All have been inspected under the best possible auspices, our guides being expert local archæologists. On every occasion, I may say, the best local knowledge has been freely put at our disposal.

To take pre-historics first of all. We have been able to study Maiden Castle and Maumbury Rings, the Cerne Abbas giant, Grimspound and the old bridges of Dartmoor, and the mysterious carved stones on Ilkley Moor. Of Roman remains we have seen the Baths at Bath itself; the military works at York; the great fortress at Richborough; walls at Chester; and villas at Aldborough and Folkestone. The Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon and the wonderful church at Deerhurst come next in order of time, but we have also seen such gems of Norman work as Steeley, Adel, Inglesham, Barfreston, Kilpeck and Iffley.

The castles that we have been able to visit make a group of very great interest. They range from Dover, with its Roman masonry, and Rochester, to Holyrood and Sheffield, with their memories of Mary, Queen of Scots: in the one the centre of a brilliant Court, in the other a prisoner. Of the Cathedrals that we have seen, each has its own interest, but I might perhaps specially mention the Chained Library at Hereford. The Brethren who were with us on that Outing will long remember that enthusiastic old Librarian and his address on his treasures.

It would be tedious to give the list of Abbeys and Priories we have seen, and it is difficult to particularise where all are of such interest, and so many, even when in ruins, are of such wonderful beauty, set, as they often are, in the most picturesque surroundings. But I would like to mention Rievaulx, and the marvellous view, looking down on it from the terrace; Bolton Priory in its valley; Finchale, of which most of us had never even heard until we went to Sunderland in 1934; the two Scottish Abbeys, Melrose and Dryburgh; and earliest of all, St. Augustine's at Canterbury. Nor is it possible on the present occasion to make more than a passing reference to the host of churches that we have been able to examine. Rosslyn is, of course, of outstanding interest to us as Masons, whatever interpretation we may be inclined to put on the story of the Prentice Pillar; Ewelme with its associations with Chaucer; Dorchester (in the Oxfordshire Outing) with its wonderful Jesse Window; Coventry, Northleach, Cirencester, are only some that might be mentioned. The *Transactions* will be found to give us fairly full notes on each in turn.

We have had numerous opportunities of examining also the remains of the domestic and civic architecture of an earlier day, in such places as Lacock, Oxford, Ewelme with its picturesque alms-houses, Coventry, Chester with its galleries, the Herefordshire villages, and, of course, York and Canterbury. This brings me to the many occasions on which we were privileged to visit private houses, many in themselves architectural gems, and often surrounded by the most wonderful gardens. Bowood, the seat of Lord Lansdowne; the New Hall at Sutton Coldfield, still a moated grange, and supposed to be the oldest inhabited house in England; Athelhampton, the property of a brother of our own P.M. Bro. Cart de Lafontaine; Raby Castle; Brinksop, near Hereford; and, last year, Portal with its glorious gardens, the beauty of which we could still appreciate although we were too late in the year to see them at their best.

Before leaving this part of my subject I would like to refer to the two occasions on which we were the guests of Brethren of our own day at their private houses:—Colonel Wyley, Prov.G.Master of Warwickshire, at Coventry in 1924, who allowed us to inspect the wonderful old medieval pictures on the walls of his bedroom, and our own P.M. Bro. David Flather, at Banner Cross Hall in 1922. On both occasions the most generous provision had been made for our entertainment in the grounds, and on both everything was upset by the rain. But the most inclement conditions did not discourage our hosts and hostesses, and merely emphasised the kindness of their welcome.

That our excursions took us from time to time through some of the finest scenery in the country goes, perhaps, without saying. But I might remind you of the view over the Vale of Gloucester from the Cotswolds; of the panorama

from the hill above Lacock; of Spye Park; of Loch Katrine and the Trossachs; of the Tweed valley; and, finally, of Dartmoor.

We have been privileged to visit also several galleries and museums of importance, apart from those specifically Masonic, to which I shall refer later. I would remind you of the Picture Gallery and Geological Museum at Bath; of Temple Newsam; and, above all, of Port Sunlight, which we visited from Chester in 1936. While we have also had opportunities of seeing great industrial concerns such as Messrs. Cadbury's at Bournville, and Messrs. Vickers at Sheffield.

I must not forget to mention Warwick Castle, which we visited on our Outing at Leamington Spa in 1937. The ancient armour, prehistoric antlers and the Great Helm of 1300 are of great importance, as were also numerous very fine oil paintings made by various artists.

Old Documents and Charters must always have a special interest for us, and we have been singularly fortunate in being able to inspect, under expert guidance, the splendid collection of Civic Documents at Oxford and Bath, and the Charters and Regalia not only in these cities, but also at York, Rochester, Exeter, Hereford, Chester and Bristol. Special receptions were arranged in our honour by bodies like the Savage Club of Bristol; and concerts at Bath, Sheffield and Bristol. This last, in 1920, which was specially prepared by our Past Master, Bro. Cecil Powell, and conducted by the Organist of Bristol Cathedral, Bro. Hubert Hunt, consisted entirely of Masonic music and was an outstanding event, as all will agree who were present at it.

Coming now to the strictly Masonic side of our Outings, few Provincial centres have not something to show in the way of old records, or jewels and regalia, or furniture. The Minute Books of Mary's Chapel and Canongate Kilwinning, the records of the Grand Lodge of York, and the Lodge Library which contained copies of the Old Charges at York, the Provincial Museum at Birmingham, the remarkable collection at Port Sunlight, and the Library at Leeds, are only a few that might be mentioned.

Papers were read on many occasions, the most important being that given by Bro. Dring at Bristol, and repeated at Sheffield. Bro. Makins at York was another Lecturer; Bros. Shackles at Bath, and Crossley at Weymouth were also Lecturers; and our Secretary, Bro. Lionel Vibert, has frequently entertained us with Lectures on various appropriate topics; especially his description of the battle of Edgehill in the year 1642 given at our last Outing this year (1937) to Leamington Spa.

At Sheffield we were present at the dedication of the tablet in the Cathedral, recording that the Masons had generously given the chancel screen.

At Edinburgh we saw, at the Castle, the wonderful memorial erected there by the Local Authorities to the memory of those Scottish men who fell in the Great War.

In the different Masonic Museums were much Masonic china and curios, particularly in the Masonic Library and Museum at Birmingham in the Province of Warwickshire, and at Canterbury in the Province of Kent.

It would, of course, be possible to expand the reference to Masonic Museums a good deal; to refer to the Chairs at Chester, which were very fine indeed, and to several other items.

Since 1920 we have been to Bristol, Sheffield, Bath, Birmingham, Dorsetshire, York, Oxford, Exeter, Leeds, Edinburgh, Rochester, Gloucestershire, Folkestone, Durham, Hereford, Chester and Leamington Spa, and have seen all that is of interest to Masonic Students in those places. We are very grateful to our Treasurer and our Secretary for such important Outings, and although we have seen nearly everything in the country, yet we look forward to many more of such enjoyable Outings.

With reference to the Provincial Workings demonstrated at our Outings:—

BRISTOL.

The Third Degree according to the Bristol Working was given by the ROBERT THORNE LODGE (of which our then Master was a member) in the year 1920, was found very interesting, and was much enjoyed by us. A Past Master writes¹:—"As to the special ceremony of the evening, it would not be proper to write more than that the Working was more elaborate and more dramatic in its execution than that generally in use,—in fact, it is closely akin to that of the American Lodges, of which an exemplification has recently been given in London. The I.P.M. has a prominence in the proceedings which our modern working has lost. The Bristol use is clearly a survival of pre-Union working, and I daresay that proximity to Ireland, and sympathy with Irish usages in the Craft, may have been one element which led Bristol Masons to adhere to time-honoured customs when uniformity was generally enforced at the Union of the English Grand Lodges. At any rate, whilst I should deprecate Lodges elsewhere copying Bristol working, and I think what we are used to is the most suitable in every way for modern working, yet it would be a very great loss if this link with past working were to be abandoned. The ceremony as we saw it at the ROBERT THORNE LODGE in its Bristol setting was most impressive,—a precious heritage to be cherished and preserved,—and I strongly advise every Brother, who has the opportunity, to try to see the Bristol working, which we all found most inspiring and interesting."

SHEFFIELD.

I was much struck with the obligation as Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, taken by Bro. David Flather, in the year 1932, and I wrote to him asking where he had become acquainted with a text which was the same, or very similar to, the Stability working.

In reply he told me that the working was the same as that worked at the BRITANNIA LODGE No. 139 at Sheffield, and he kindly sent me a print, which I found to contain working substantially identical with that of the Stability Lodge of Instruction. I have had some correspondence on the matter with our Past Master, Bro. David Flather, to ascertain whether the BRITANNIA LODGE of Instruction at Sheffield, where the working is taught, would be inclined to be associated with other Lodges working the Stability Ritual. He replied that, so far as he knew, the BRITANNIA LODGE of Instruction would not be willing to be associated with Lodges of Instruction working the Stability Working, but that those Lodges might feel inclined to be associated with the BRITANNIA LODGE of Instruction.

The Stability Lodge of Instruction was founded in the year 1817, to teach the Reconciliation Working after that Lodge had closed in the previous year.

At our Outing in 1936 I had a long conversation with Bro. J. P. Hunter, of Sheffield, who had been to many previous Outings, and I was informed by him that he was the Preceptor of the BRITANNIA LODGE of Instruction at Sheffield. I told him what had been written to me by Bro. David Flather; Bro. Hunter has promised to call on me to discuss the matter the next time he is in London. I am now awaiting his call.

BATH.

The demonstration of the Bath Working of 1761, so far as it can be reconstructed from contemporary printed accounts of it, was given at Grand Pump Room at Bath on Thursday, the 5th July, 1923.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii., 145.

At Bath, on another occasion and at a private Lodge, I had seen the Opening and Closing of a Board of Installed Masters. So far as I know, having no expert knowledge of the Ritual of this Opening and Closing, it was the same at Bath as was demonstrated at Exeter.

EXETER.

The Exeter Working, of which only the Initiation was worked in our presence, but of which I have seen a print sent me by Bro. T. H. Andrew, cannot be considered a transmission of the Reconciliation Working as it contains (amongst other things) many inconsistencies.

Whatever the Working of the Lodge of Reconciliation was, it is the general opinion that that Working was complete in itself and that its parts were not inconsistent with one another. The Exeter Working is probably founded on the Emulation print, which has been on the market since about 1870.

I have not the Emulation Installation Ritual before me, but I have examined this Exeter Installation Working and find that, with the addition of specialities peculiar to the district, it is substantially the same as the Installation ceremony of the Stability Lodge of Instruction.

EDINBURGH. 1930.

The First and Second Degrees were worked for our information at Edinburgh in 1930 by the Canongate Kilwinning and the Mary's Chapel Lodges.

The Scottish Working is mainly similar to Stability, but is partly like Emulation, partly like Exeter, and partly local custom.

As to the Canongate Kilwinning Working of the First Degree, the following will be found interesting by the Brethren of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

In the year 1927 I had submitted to me a print of an altered Ritual of the Scottish Working. I examined this Ritual and found that it was practically the same as the English Working, mainly Stability, with certain local additions. Consequently, when I visited the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge three years later, on the 19th June, 1930, I was prepared to find that the Opening of the Lodge would be substantially as in the English Working with which I was familiar.

I found, however, that while the Working might be in many respects the same as the English, the Lodge was differently arranged.

I ascertained that the Hall in which we were then meeting had been used by the Lodge since the year 1736 and that the Lodge had been working since 1677.

Then I asked the Secretary to tell me when the Ritual of Opening the Lodge was settled, and he said about the same time as the other Ritual.

The Secretary could not answer some questions of mine, but promised to refer them to the Director of Ceremonies, which I believe he did. But I got no satisfaction on these points.

The fact is that some three years previously they had changed the Scottish Ritual, but they omitted to change the Lodge room to correspond; which, of course, they could not do where the working required an isosceles triangle.

They might, however, have made the Lodge room adaptable to the present day working by blocking up the Wardens alcoves, which they may have done since our Outing in 1930.

SUNDERLAND. 1934.

At Sunderland the Phoenix Lodge gave a demonstration of their old Working, which is mainly the Stability Working with the words "an alarm" instead of the words "A report" for the Can.

LEAMINGTON SPA.

At Leamington, on the 17th June, 1937, we visited Guy's Lodge, No. 395, and heard a very interesting "brief résumé of the Early History of Guy's Lodge" by W.Bro. Stephen Mellows, B.Sc., P.P.A.G.D.C.

The Lodge was opened and all the Officers of the Lodge, in answer to the W.Master, gave an account of their duties as in the Scottish Working.

The Lodge was then opened, and before it was finished, the candles of the Master and the Wardens were lighted by the Director of Ceremonies of the Lodge; first the Master's, then the S.W., and lastly the J.W's. lights were lighted.

At the Closing of the Lodge the candles of the Lodge were extinguished in the reverse order; first the J.W., then the S.W. and lastly the Master's light was extinguished, also by the Director of Ceremonies of the Lodge. This is the same as was practised in the German Grand Lodges in my presence in the year 1912.

At the subsequent Banquet, W.Bro. G. ELKINGTON, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

Bro. F. W. Golby was born in 1858, and in the course of a long and busy life has been fortunate, as will be seen, in that his professional avocations and pursuits have been closer to his early predilections and aspirations than falls to the lot of most of his Brethren. His education was largely devoted to Science, especially Chemistry. His zeal and ability were amply demonstrated early in his career when he sat as one of 700 candidates at an examination for appointments in the Civil Service, when, out of the successful 35, he obtained second place. He held with distinction several Government appointments, and then decided to qualify as an Assistant Examiner in the Patent Office. This entailed a further stiff competitive examination and production of certificates of technical attainments. These he obtained by studies at the Old Polytechnic, King's College, and the Birkbeck College, and by adequate laboratory work. In due course he obtained an appointment in H.M. Patent Office. In 1888, however, he relinquished this, having decided on private practice. He was registered accordingly as a Patent Agent when the first Register was drawn up in 1889, and has since continued in practice.

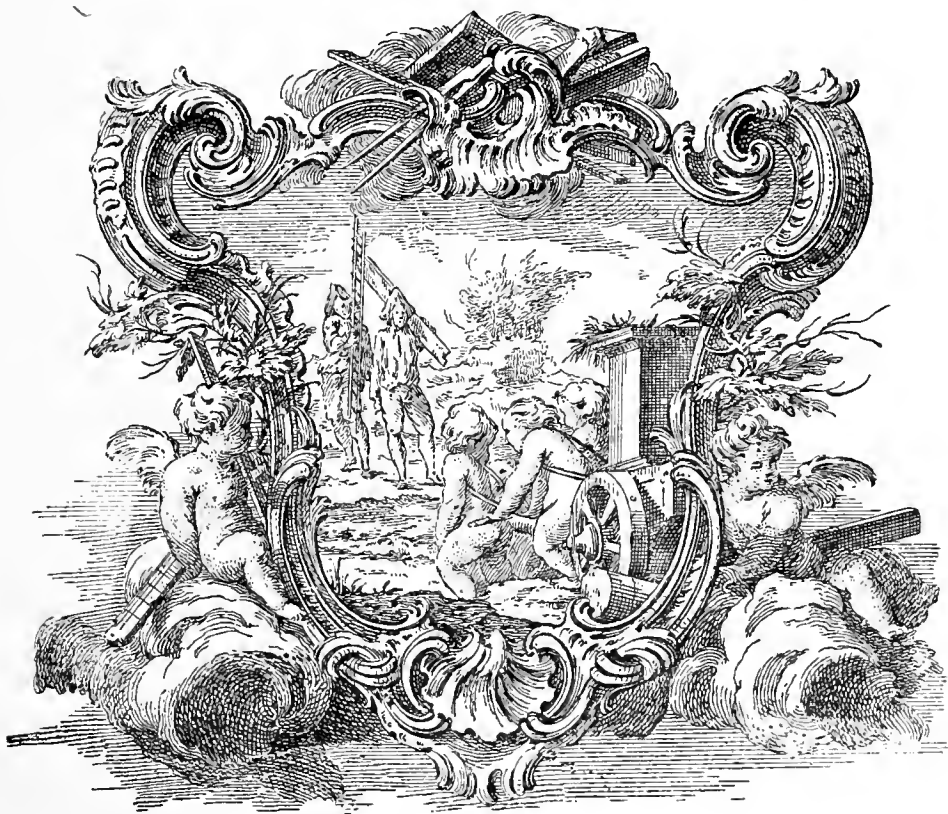
In Masonry, Bro. Golby was initiated in the Craft in the Neptune Lodge No. 22 in November, 1894; was Master in 1900, and Secretary from 1901 to 1932. He was exalted in the Royal Arch in May, 1896; became First Principal in 1903, and Scribe E. from 1911 to 1936. He joined the Panmure Lodge No. 715 in the year 1900, and was Master in 1905, but resigned in 1907. He joined the Jubilee Masters Lodge No. 2712 in 1900, and was Junior Warden in 1926, but resigned in 1930. He was a Founder and first Director of Ceremonies of the Thalia Lodge No. 5277, constituted in 1930; and was eventually made an Honorary Member of this Lodge. He was Preceptor of the Stability Lodge of Instruction No. 217 from 1900 to 1936, and Deputy Preceptor of the Aldersgate Chapter of Improvement for eight years.

Bro. Golby joined the Correspondence Circle of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1916, became a life member in 1923, and was admitted to full Lodge membership in 1931.

Bro. Golby was appointed Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in the Craft in April, 1911, and, in the same year, Past Grand Standard Bearer in Supreme Grand Chapter. He served on the Board of General Purposes for six years; and for many years on the Board of Benevolence. He is a Vice-Patron of the R.M.I.B., the R.M.I.G., the R.M.B.I., as well as of the Royal Masonic Hospital.

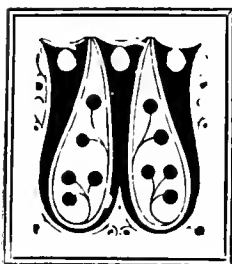
Bro. Golby is the author of *The History of the Neptune Lodge No. 22*, and also of *A Century of Stability*. He has written papers on *Freemasonry a Century ago*; *London Rank*; *A concise History of English Freemasonry*; *The English, Irish, and Scottish Royal Arch Organisations*; and he has read these papers before many London and Provincial Lodges; his paper on *Royal Arch Masonry* having been read in Grand Chapter in November, 1934. He read a paper on *Our Early Brethren as Patentees* before our Lodge in June, 1934.

Brethren, you have now heard some of the qualifications of our Bro. Golby for the high position in the Lodge he has been called upon to fill. We all look forward confidently to an interesting mastership, and hope that certain important questions, now before the Lodge, will receive a satisfactory solution under his guidance. We all unite in offering him our fraternal good wishes.



WILLIAM SCHAW, MASTER OF WORKS TO KING JAMES VI. AND HIS CONNECTION WITH THE SCHAWS OF SAUCHIE.

BY BRO. JAMES W. SAUNDERS, F.L.A.A.



WILLIAM SCHAW, Master of Works to King James VI. and author of the Schaw Statutes of 1598 and 1599, is a person of considerable interest in the evolution of Feemasonry in Scotland because of his achievement in imposing a system of ordered government upon the Craft, but there has been some dubiety as to his identity. Sir David Brewster in Laurie's *History of Freemasonry* writes, "He was probably a younger son of Schaw of Sauchie". That he was a cadet of the House of Schawpark, Sauchie, is certain, but whether of the main stem or of a branch has not before been stated.

William Schaw must have entered the service of the Royal Household as a young boy for he was one of the company selected to go to Copenhagen to escort Anne of Denmark to Edinburgh to become the Queen of James VI., and in the Treasurer's Accounts of Scotland under date of 1st June, 1560, The Lord High Treasurer pays "xjLi. xs for black velvet for to be clokis to William Schaw and Hectour Gailouch pagis to the Queen".

A descriptive sketch on William Schaw appears on page 58 of the *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1* by D. Murray Lyon and need not be repeated here, but that sketch does not give his origin nor any information on his family or private life. Another descriptive account is given in *The King's Master Masons* by R. S. Mylne, 1893, on page 62 as follows:—

"William Schaw, a man of wide culture, succeeded Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock as Master of Works in 1584; apparently through the kindly influence of Queen Anne. The Privy Seal Writ of appointment has not been preserved. His signature, however, is of frequent occurrence in the early records of the incorporation of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh. He was employed to repair the jointure-house of the Queens of Scotland at Dunfermline. In 1600 he rebuilt it. This entire lordship formed a portion of the dowry of Anne of Denmark and William Schaw became her Chamberlain and a great favourite with this Danish princess. He also did good work in regard to the restoration of the Great Abbey. To the nave, the aisles, the steeple and the north porch he gave special attention. In 1594 he purchased some alabaster and a thousand 'stun' of lead for the better adornment of Stirling Castle. In 1599 he rendered his accounts for various works executed at Holyrood on the Hall, the Forewark and other parts of the Palace. One of the Sheets amounts to £63. 12. 6. He brought James Murray, Master Wright, from Dunfermline to Edinburgh and observed 'I never allowit less wages this year to James Murray than 13s. 4d. each day'.

Against another Holyrood account he writes:—

‘Summa £60. 18. 4 and for drink given to the Wrights at their idle hours 34 shillings, which I made a difficulty to allow until the Master Wright should let my Lord Treasurer know the cause why it is given’.

His employment both by the King and the Queen was, however, not of long duration. In the midst of his active and useful career he was cut off by sudden death on 18th April, 1602. A very elaborate monument was erected to his memory by direction of the Queen. In the rather lengthy inscription his intellectual accomplishments, his extensive knowledge of foreign lands and his excellent skill in architecture are highly praised. A curious monogram, making up the letters of his name, was cut on a small piece of marble, and inserted on the upper portion of the sepulchral edifice. A side light is thrown on his character by the fact that an old record states that on one occasion he was wounded in a duel by ‘Buccleugh’ being second to Sir R. Kerr. His name will always be chiefly remembered in connection with the Abbey of Dunfermline (in the grounds of which he was buried). If his work shows any sign of foreign influence we must trace the source to Denmark not to France.”

William Schaw had nevertheless also visited France and studied architecture there. As regards the incident of the duel, Schaw was not a combatant. Another similar incident or perhaps another version of the same incident is recorded in the *History of Inverkeithing* by Rev. Wm. Stephen at page 353, in which the opponent or culprit is named:—

“Frances Moubray embarked on projects that brought him into trouble. He was a party to the conspiracies against the King. On 13th April, 1596, he took part in the storming of the Castle of Carlisle and the rescue of Kinmont Willie—(William Armstrong). On the following day Mowbray ran a rapier through William Schaw, an act which led to sentence of Outlawry being passed on him—Spottiswoode’s History.”

In the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. vi., page 395 of the print. Year 1601 there is stated a complaint by Henry Wardlaw Chamberlain of Dunfermline as follows:—

“The following persons were put to the horn at the instance of Williame Schaw, Master of Work and Queen’s Chamberlain for non-payment of the sums due by them as part of the maill of Ettrik-Forrest: James Scot of Quhithoip £424: Mr. Arthur Scot of Glemmiliscleuch £70: Robert Scot of Thirlestane £51. 13. 4 and Williame Scot of Hartwoodmyris £14. The said rebels remain at the horn as yet unrelaxed and as they are Sir Walter Scott of Braxholm’s men, Robert Scot of Hangyng who acts for the Laird of Braxhelm during his absence furth of this realm is bound to enter them before the King and Council. The pursuat appearing; Scot of Hangyng not having produced the said rebels is to be denounced rebel.”

Sir George Mackenzie, the Scottish Antiquary, traces the descent of the Schaws from Macduff and asserts that the surname of Schaw or Shaw is derived from SHIACH the second son of Duncan, Earl of Fife, the Ancestor’s given name being adopted as a surname. (Crawford’s *Renfrewshire*).

The surname of Shaw carried Azure three covered cups, Or. The covered Cups of Shaw of Sauchie were borne from the earliest times as hereditary cup-bearers to the Scots Kings. (*Collections that relate to the Families of Scotland*, M.8. 34, 6, 8, Advocates’ Library and Nisbet’s *Heraldry*).

The cups are covered because of an order given after a lady had attempted to drop poison into a cup being borne from the wine cellar to the King's table and was detected by a James Schaw who was Master of the Wyne Sellar.

The Shaws were originally vassals of the Stewarts and members of the family are variously recorded in the *Registers of Paisley Abbey*, the *Register of Sasines* and the *Ragman Roll*. In Nisbet's *Heraldry*, folio 1722, p. 431, it is noted that the Lands of "Greenock" belonged to "Sauchie" which one of his Progenitors purchased by marrying the co-heiress of Galbreth of Greenock in the reign of Robert III., which lands continued in the family of Sauchie till the reign of King James V. Alexander Shaw of Sauchie gave the lands of Greenock in patrimony to John Shaw, his eldest son, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William Cunningham of Glengarnock. The family of Sauchie through failure of succession fell into Greenock.

The family of Shaw must have been of great importance in the time of the Stewart Kings by reason of their position and alliances and the great offices of state held by them. A few of the more important were James, Comptroller of the Household 1471; George, Abbot of Paisley, 1476, and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland 1495; James, Captain of Stirling Castle, 1488; Robert, Bishop of Moray, 1524; and James, Master of the Wyne Sellar 1582. After that array it is not surprising to find William Schaw as Master of Works in 1598.

The Schaws were in these times a vigorous and prolific family. Cadets are traced as holding the lands of Sauchie, Alva & Cowden and Balquharn in Clackmannanshire; Bunthirll, Cavilstoun, Couldoun, Findlarie and Lathangie in Kinnrosshire; Gilmerton and Gardenkeir in Fifeshire; Broich or Arnecrumbie and Knockhill in Stirlingshire and Balinslie in Berwickshire.

The first recorded connection of the Schaws with Sauchie is the marriage of Sir James Shaw of Greenock with Mary de Annand, co-heiress of Sauchie, before 1431. The Annands held the lands of Sauchie from 1296 to 1431. From this marriage Crawford in his *Writs of Sauchie* traces the genealogy of the family of Shaw through eleven generations to George who dies without issue *circa* 1707. This pedigree is, however, suspect because there is indisputable proof that the lands did not devolve upon the heirs named nor are these always the eldest sons.

In 1483 in the *Register of the Great Seal* James Shaw of Sauchie and Isobel his spouse are confirmed in joint infeftment of the lands of Sauchie and Greenock. This is the second son of the Sir James Shaw who married Mary de Annand. The eldest son John died without issue. The sons of James and Isobel are mentioned as John, David and Richard. James Shaw was appointed Keeper of Stirling Castle and he with his son John of Alva refused to surrender the Castle to the King when called upon. He took part in the rebellion which ended with the battle of Sauchieburn and the murder of James III. For his part in that rebellion he was pardoned by Remission under the Great Seal. His son John pre-deceased his father but left an heir James who was infeft of the lands in 1498.

According to Crawford's *Writs of Sauchie* James Shaw had sasine of the lands of Greenock as heir of the deceased James Shaw of Sauchy, his grandfather, who died infeft of the lands of Greenock Schaw, which had been in the King's hands for the space of one year, 1492, so that old James, the Grandfather, had died in 1491 and left probably by John Shaw of Alva his son, so called in records of 1488 James his oye, who was his heir.

This is confirmed in a pedigree of the Shaw family printed on pages 106-111 of the *History of Inverkeithing* by Rev. William Stephen. Unfortunately, this pedigree is not complete and in no sense a genealogical tree. It does not follow out either the Sauchie or Broich lines. It does, however, state that the

Sir James de Schaw who succeeded in 1491 had three sons named Alexander, William and John. The third son John is said by Stephen to be identified with John Schaw of Broich which was another name for Arngomery near Kippen in Stirlingshire. (*Calendar of Laing Charters No. 1993, 26th June, 1627*). This first John Schaw of Broich had two sons; John who succeeded him and William who became Master of Works to the King.

Crawford writes further that John Schaw brother of Alexander Schaw of Sauchie had a Charter to the lands of Balinslie in Berwickshire in 1546 and states this is for certain the first John Shaw of Broich who is after that in the Council Records. This John Shaw is "*supposed*" by Crawford to be the father of the second John Shaw of Broich and William the "master of works" to the King. Crawford cites in evidence a phrase in a Charter by James Shaw of Sauchy in 1582, wherein "Will Shaw, Master of Wark is cal'd brother to John Shaw of Broiche".

In *Genealogical Notes on Ancient Scottish Families* by David Marshall, F.S.A., Scotland, and in the section dealing with the Schaws of Sauchie at page 107 there is mention of a Charter by Alexander Schaw apparent of Sauchie granting the lands of Ryall to his brother John. It is dated 1511.

Now it is asserted elsewhere that William Schaw, Master of Works, was born in 1550. It is known that he died in 1602 aged about 52 years. If 1550 be accepted, then his father must have been well advanced in years when William was born. Supposing John of Broich was 18 years of age in 1511, then he must have been 57 years old in 1550. Patient search has so far not recovered the record of the marriage or wife of the first John of Broich, nor the dates of birth of his sons. John Shaw of Broych witnesses a transfer of property in the Register of the Great Seal at Stirling in 1556-57.

Sir James Schaw of Sauchie died in 1528 and was succeeded by his eldest son Alexander. This Alexander married in 1526 Catherine eldest daughter of John 5th Lord Erskine of Alloa. There appears to have been some romance here. Catherine when a young girl was betrothed by her parents in a marriage contract dated 25th June, 1518, as intended wife of John Murray of Touchadam as soon as he should come of age. Failing her he was to marry Margaret her sister. As a matter of fact he did not marry either, but Janet the youngest daughter. The marriage contract is dated 1st September, 1532. This is from the *Mar Manuscripts*. There is no mention whatever of Alexander Shaw in these *Manuscripts* although the Erskines were careful in such matters. The homes of the Schaws and Erskines were but two miles apart. The young people met frequently and presumably Catherine had a will of her own and declined to follow her parents' wishes. She had one son James who carried on the Sauchie line. Alexander Schaw married as his second wife Elizabeth daughter of William Cunningham of Glengarnock and had issue four sons by her, named John, Mungo, Robert and William. In the *Register of the Great Seal* there is also the legitimation of James and Patrick Shaw, two natural children of Alexander Shaw of Sauchie, dated 18th March, 1546. (*Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. 29, No. 392*). John was granted the lands of Greenock by his father and carried on the Greenock line, one of whom was created Earl of Cathcart. The Charter from his father is dated 16th June, 1542.

In his pedigree table Crawford gives Sir James Shaw, who succeeded Alexander Shaw, as a son of Elizabeth Cunningham his second wife, but it is already noted that Alexander Shaw gave the lands of Greenock to John Shaw, *eldest* son by his second wife. The name of his first wife is not recorded by Crawford, nor is there any statement that he had a son by her.

Crawford is clearly wrong in his statement. Corroboration that James the only son by his first wife succeeded to Sauchie is found in Stephen's *History of Inverkeithing*.

The frequent repetition of the same given name not only in successive generations but in the several different branches of the family has made it very difficult to identify individuals and great care is necessary to prevent confusion.

Alexander Schaw died in January, 1546-7, and was succeeded by Sir James Schaw his eldest son by Catherine Erskine. James married Marjory Kirkcaldy. There is a Precept from Henry Wardlaw fear of Torry infesting him as heir to his father Alexander in the lands of Gilmerton, Fife, dated 29th April, 1547. There is also a Charter under Register of the Great Seal dated 2nd May, 1558, disposing of lands in Couldon & Brunthill Kinnross to his spouse Marjory Kirkcaldy in liferent and to his son James in residue. There is a further record in the *Register of the Great Seal* at Stirling dated 4th August, 1578, from James VI. granting the Barony of Sauchie to himself, Marjory Kirkcaldy and James Shaw his son. This son James succeeded his father, but the date is not certain, probably in 1582, but certainly before 1587.

In the *Writs of Sauchie*, of 1587, it is recorded that John Shaw of Broich and Eupham Shaw, spouse to James Shaw of Sauchie, with the consent of Marjory Kirkcaldy, his mother, granted a Renunciation to the said James Shaw of Sauchie. There is no mention of a son of the said James Shaw at this time. Therefore John Shaw the second of Broich was presumably heir-apparent. Be it noted that his brother William, Master of Work, is not a party to the renunciation. There is a sequel. James sold and alienated part of the lands of Sauchie in payment of debt. William objected and declared James could not break the entail. William took the case to the King's Court which gave deliverance in 1588 granting:—

“Regress to the lands of Sauchie, notwithstanding that James Shaw of Sauchie had sold and alienated per Cartos and Sasines Williv. Shaw filio qoundam Johanis Shaw de Broich nostri servitori and assignatus totos and integros terras et Barronium de Sauchyand Wester Tilycultry and Coudon.”

So William Schaw, Master of Works, became possessed of the Barony of Sauchie, excluding his elder brother John because of the renunciation. In the deliverance he is definitely described as a son of John Shaw of Broich. His claim to Sauchie is not so easily determined. Both James of Sauchie and John of Broich had sons, but whether born at the time of dispute is not ascertainable. The Greenock line apparently did not intervene though having as good or even a better claim than William Schaw. William undoubtedly detested the idea that the lands should go outside the family whose ancestral home it had remained for so many years and in default of action by the others acted himself to preserve the lands in the family interest though he himself was a bachelor. This marked the severance of the Estates from the Dignity and these did not descend in the same line until united some years later.

Sir James Schaw must have been quite unable to rid himself of the burden of debt because the records of the Privy Council mention that “Sir James Schaw of Sauchie remaining unrelaxed from a horning of 6th May, 1606, for not paying Thomas Younger of Litgrane 2000 Merks as principal and £100 as expenses as by contract of 6th June 1598: Defender not appearing is to be apprehended by the Captain of the Guard and his goods inventoried for his Majesty's use”.

Sir John Schaw of Arnecrumbie, Knight, was served heir to his uncle William in the lands of Sauchie on the death of the Master of Works in 1602, but the Charter is dated 30th June, 1609. Arnecrumbie is a variant of Arngomery and of Broich in Stirlingshire. Thus Sir John was a son of the second John Schaw of Broich. The seven years' delay in granting the Charter of confirmation hints at some difficulties which have not been recorded. It may

be conjectured that the Sir James Schaw who was dispossessed by William Schaw made a bold effort to get back the estates. He had not long to wait for satisfaction of his desire. There is no record of the death of Sir John Schaw of Arnecrumbie, but Sir James Schaw must have regained possession before 1623 because on 27th August, 1623, Alexander Schaw was served heir to his father Sir James Schaw of Sauchie in the lands and barony of Sauchie and in the lands of Coltoun, Cavilston and Brunthill, and on 22nd December, 1630, was served heir to Alexander, his Great-Grandfather, in the superiority and lands of Findlarie (*Returns of Service, Findlarie Writs*). The lands, however, were becoming heavily burdened with debt. Sir James had not been a good manager and was too free with his money and gifts. He had mortgaged the coal lying under the lands in Kinross. The *Mar Manuscripts*, at page 119, record a letter from King James VI. at Greenwich dated 6th May, 1623, entreating the Earl of Mar not to press for moneys due to the Crown as the condition of the house of Sauchie is so far hurt that it might threaten their utter overthrow.

Alexander Schaw was knighted by King Charles I. on 16th July when the King visited Scotland in 1633. Sir Alexander Schaw married Helen Bruce of Clackmannan and, according to the Registers of the Parish of Clackmannan, had one daughter Heline b. 1626, and seven sons James b. 1629, Robert & John b. 1632, William b. 1633, Hary b. 1636, George b. 1637 and William b. 1638. What became of the elder sons is unknown. George the sixth son succeeded but was bereft of the estates by legal process. Apparently the debt, which James Shaw attempted to discharge by alienation of the lands in 1587 and was dispossessed for so doing, was still hanging over the main line of the family, none of whom appear to have been either fortunate or good managers in money matters. The burden had indeed increased. Finally, the Greenock branch of the family either paid or bought out the debt and, having no confidence in George to maintain the dignity of the line, started process against him. By decree of the Court of Session upon the 28th March, 1682, Charter was granted to Sir John Shaw of Greenock, Knight, Baronet of the Barony of Sauchie with Castles, Towers and Lands in the shire of Clackmannan; and lands of Baquhairne and houses in the same shire; lands of Gardenkeir in the Regality of Dunfermline with the usual pertinents, all of which belonged heritably to the deceased Sir Alexander Shaw of Sauchie and which are adjudged from George Shaw son and lawfully charged to enter heir and special to the said deceased Sir Alexander Shaw, his father, at the instance of Sir John Shaw of Greenock, Knight Baronet, in satisfaction of debts amounting to £134,666. 13. 4, Scots (Eng. Stirling £11,222). The Charter is dated 7th January, 1698. (*Reg. Mag. Sig. Lib. 74, No. 159*).

The dignity and lands of the Shaws of Greenock fell into the family of Cathcart through Lady Shaw grandmother of the tenth Baron and thereafter the descent is readily traceable in Burke's *Peerage* down to the Hon. William Schaw Cathcart of Schawpark, Sauchie, who was initiated in the Lodge of Alloa, No. 69, on 8th September, 1774, in the presence of his Uncle Francis, seventh Lord Napier, then Past Depute Grand Master and afterwards Grand Master Mason in 1788/89. The Hon. Wm. Schaw Cathcart was elected Master of the Lodge of Alloa, No. 69, for three successive years commencing 23rd December, 1774, but his military duties prevented regular attendance. He was only 19 years of age on the day of his election. He succeeded to the title of tenth Baron Cathcart on 21st July, 1776. He was one of, and perhaps the most distinguished of a long line of military officers. He received his first Company in the Athole Highlanders and immediately brought it to Alloa on a recruiting mission.

The Lodge of Alloa rose to the occasion and offered a bounty of three guineas to every recruit. A combined procession of the Masons and the High-

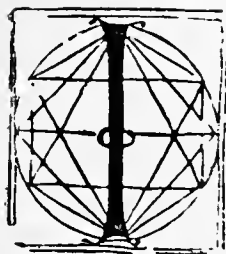
landers was made through the town and the Company soon attained full strength. Lord Cathcart became Colonel of the 2nd Life Guards and rose to the rank of Lt.-General in 1801. He was Commander-in-Chief of the British Expedition to Copenhagen and on his return was rewarded with a Viscountcy. He was appointed Ambassador to Russia and created first Earl Cathcart in 1814. He retired as Vice-Admiral of Scotland.

Another Branch of the Shaws is represented by the line of Shaw Stewarts, Baronets of Greenock, one of whom Sir Michael Robert Shaw-Stewart was Grand Master Mason from 1873 to 1881.

The descent of Sir Walter Scott may also be traced from the Schaws of Sauchie through one Patrick Shaw, Minister of Selkirk, 1595-1635, whose great-grand-daughter married the Rev. John Rutherford of Yarrow, and whose grand-daughter was the mother of Scott, a seventh son.



OBITUARY.



It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Sir **Augustus Alexander Brooke-Pechell**, of Boston Spa, Yorks., on 6th October, 1937. Bro. Brooke-Pechell held L.G.R., he was P.M. of Shalden Lodge No. 2016, and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1925.

John Caldwell, of Glasgow, on 28th July, 1937. Bro. Caldwell was P.M. of Lodge No. 1285, and Sup.W. of Chapter No. 487. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1934.

Dr. **Colin Harold Crump**, of Dargaville, N.Z., in 1937. Bro. Crump held the rank of P.Dis.G.S.B. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1927.

Henry Thomas Cart de Lafontaine, of London, S.W., on the 23rd November, 1937. Bro. de Lafontaine held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1900, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in June, 1925, and was W.M. in 1929-1930.

Dr. **James Henry Earls**, of London, S.W., on 6th October, 1937. Bro. Earls was a P.M. of Æsculapius Lodge No. 2410, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1917.

Trevor Evans, of Swansea, on 11th August, 1937, aged 57 years. Bro. Evans held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in May, 1928.

William Edward Gilliland, of London, W., on the 16th August, 1937, aged 60 years. Bro. Gilliland held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1914.

Alfred Thomas Gordon, of London, E., on 28th July, 1937. Bro. Gordon was P.M. of Forum Lodge No. 3537, and P.Z. of Scots Chapter No. 2319. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1930.

Francis Haden-Crawford, of Paignton, S. Devon., on 8th July, 1937. Bro. Haden-Crawford held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1929.

Julius Paul Hansel, *Ph.D.*, of W. Byfleet, Surrey, in 1937. Bro. Hansel was a member of Pilgrim Lodge No. 238. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1936.

Gordon Pettigrew Graham Hills, *A.R.I.B.A.*, of Cookham Dean, Berks., on 5th July, 1937. Bro. Hills held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1893, was admitted to full membership of the Lodge in October, 1914, and was W.M. in 1918-1919.

Joseph Inglis, of Edinburgh, on 29th July, 1937. Bro Inglis held the rank of Past Substitute Grand Master of Scotland. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1899.

Sidney James King-Baker, of Enderby, B.C., in September, 1937. Bro. King-Baker held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, Canada; and P.Dis.G.D., Bengal. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1916.

William Joseph L'Amie, of Bridgwater, Som., on 8th October, 1937. Bro. L'Amie was a member of Lodge of Perpetual Friendship No. 135. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1923.

Major-General **James D. MacLachlan**, *C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.*, of London, W., on 7th November, 1937. Bro. MacLachlan held the rank of Past Grand Sword Bearer. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1924.

Rev. **Charles Buchanan Mirrlees**, of London, S.W., on 26th November, 1937. Bro. Mirrlees held the rank of P.Pr.G.Ch., and P.Pr.G.So. (R.A.), Glos. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1933.

Frank Herbert Nuell, of Bristol, on the 24th August, 1937. Bro. Nuell was a member of Redcliffe Lodge No. 4503, and of Beaufort Chapter No. 103. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1931.

Henry David Parsons, of Eaglescliffe, Co. Durham, on 15th July, 1937. Bro. Parsons held the rank of P.Pr.G.Treas., and P.Pr.G.H. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1912.

James Frederick Gerhard Pieterse, *M.R.C.S.*, of Dudley, on 9th July, 1937. Bro. Pieterse held the rank of Dep.Pr.G.M., Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1915.

Frank Robert Ridley, of London, W.C., on 20th August, 1937. Bro. Ridley held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1907.

John Rowe James Roynon, of Romford, Essex, on 6th November, 1937. Bro. Roynon held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1912.

René Van Eibergen Santhagens, *C.E., M.Sc.*, of Stellenbosch, S. Africa. Bro. Santhagens was P.M. of Stellenbosch Lodge No. 2646. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1927.

William Herbert Shillam, of Bristol, on 7th August, 1937. Bro. Shillam was P.M. of Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 329 and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1933.

Charles Frederick Silberbauer, of Montreux, Switzerland, on 16th September, 1937, aged 84 years. Bro. Silberbauer held the office of Historical Commissioner in Europe for Pr.G.L. Netherlands in S. Africa. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1891.

Mihill Slaughter, of London, N.W., on the 3rd July, 1937, aged 91 years. Bro. Slaughter held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Sword Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1906.

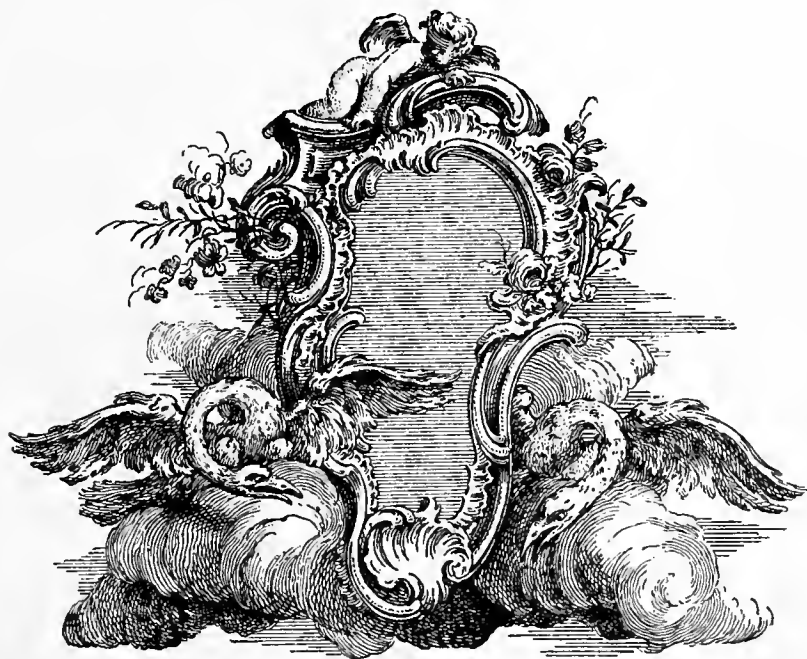
Ernest Edward Smith, of Dartford, Kent, on 8th November, 1937. Bro. Smith held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer (Craft and R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1932.

Edmund Landers Thomas, of Swansea, on 22nd October, 1937. Bro. Thomas held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1913.

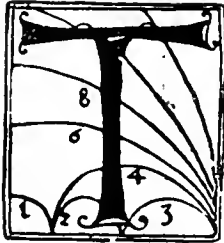
Philip Valk, of Newark, N.J., U.S.A., on 25th July, 1937. Bro. Valk was P.M. of Lodge No. 112. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1924.

Edward J. Vass, of Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A., on 9th August, 1937. Bro. Vass held the rank of Past Grand Sword Bearer, and was P.H.P. of Chapter No. 109. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1927.

Rev. **Vitruvius Partridge Wyatt**, of East Molesey, Surrey, on 26th September, 1937. Bro. Wyatt held the rank of Past Grand Chaplain and Past Grand Sojourner. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1895.



ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1937:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—District Grand Lodge of S. America, N.Div., Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Grand Lodge of Maine Library, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.; St. James' Lodge No. 482, Handsworth, Staffs.; Richard Giddy Lodge No. 1574, Kimberley, S. Africa; Mill Hill Lodge No. 3574, London, W.C.2.; Lee-Kent Lodge No. 4110, Bromley, Kent; Durham Lodge of Installed Masters No. 4441, Durham; Abbots Langley Lodge No. 4645, Watford, Herts.; Lodge of Unity No. 5560, Sao Paulo, Brazil; Union Lodge of St. Patrick No. 367 (I.C.), Downpatrick, Co. Down; Lodge Jan Amos Komensky, Prague; Lodge Lafayette, Olomouc, Czechoslovakia; Lodge St. Jan, Bandoeng, Java; Lodge Karnan, Halsingborg, Sweden; Otangaki Lodge No. 70, Ashhurst, New Zealand; Lodge of Instruction, Friendship and Sincerity No. 472, Shaftesbury, Dorset; St. John's Lodge of Instruction No. 601, Wellington, Salop; Lodge Kilsyth St. John No. 39, Instruction Class, Kilsyth, Stirlingshire; Mt. Chalmers Lodge of Instruction No. 184, Rockhampton, Queensland; Victoria Library Board, Victoria, British Columbia.

BRETHREN:—George Edward Arnold, Enfield West, Middlesex, J.W. 1986, *So.* 4454; Alex Barbour, Bradford, P.M. 600, *P.Z.* 600; Ernest Edgar Barnes, Ipswich, P.Pr.G.Treas., 225; A. E. Baylis, *M.P.S.*, Gt. Malvern, Pr.G.W.; Thomas Edward Bedworth, London, W., 448; Clarence Bernard Beeby, Sao Paulo, Brazil, P.M. 5560, 5560; Owen Henry Bell, Hatch End, Middlesex, J.W. 4420; Herbert Stanley Bennett, Plymouth, P.Pr.G.D., *P.Z.* 4099; Denis James Besly, Alexandria, P.M. 1157, *H.* 1157; *Hon.* Ernest Samuel Beoku Betts, *M.B.E.*, Freetown, Sierra Leone, P.M. 3719, *P.Z.* 1955; Geoffrey Edward Solomon Blanckensee, London, N.W. 28, 2190; Ernest George Browne, Crownhill, S. Devon, 189, 189; William Joseph Bunkum, Plymouth, I.G., 3925, *Sc.N.* 156; Myles Edmund Towers Burke, *L.R.C.P.*, *L.R.C.S. (Edin.)*, Panerihat, Assam, W.M. 3419, 582 (*S.C.*); Edwin George Burt, of Minehead, W.M. 5361, 2390; Garnett Simpson Chapman, Worthing, 851, 851; Herbert Kidman Clark, Birkenhead, W.M. 3519; Frank Henry Clerke, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., J.W. 4539; William Clough, Bury, Lancs., P.Pr.G.W.; *P.Pr.G.S.B.*; Alexander Charles Cooper, Teddington, Middlesex, P.M. 2183, *Z.* 1424; Cyril Rowland Cox, London, N., 2462; John Henry Cox, Erdington, 4563; John William Croxon, London, S.E., S.D. 5379, 4822; Frank Alfred Dale, London, S.W., J.D. 30; David Thomas Davies, London, E.C., L.G.R., P.M. 715, 2847; Robson Dixon, Minas Geraes, Brazil, W.M. 5559; Thomas King Dobson, Walton-on-Thames, P.M. 4027, 509; Charles Dolman, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; George Amos Dossett, London, W., W.M. 4420; Frank Durn, Rochdale, Lancs., 1129, 298; Guy Durnford, London, E.C., P.M. 198; George Fraser Fitzgerald Eagar, Wakefield, W.M. 154; Edward Reeves Edwards, London, N., 4272; Frank Louis Edwards, London, N., J.W. 4791, *P.So.* 3096; Wilfrid Wesley Lile Ellis, Cobham, Surrey, 2127, 2127; Frederick William Embleton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.M. 4532; Thomas Cecil George Ewins, Bristol, 4491, 1833; Carl Paul Falk, Port Pirie, S. Australia, 139, 4; Herbert Firth, Shrewsbury, Salop, 4714; Charles Kenneth Daniel Fraser, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, A.Dis.G.Sec., P.M. 5557,

5557; Herbert Edwin Gartside, Rochdale, Lancs., 4051, 298; Robert Killingly Gibbons, Tavistock, Devon, P.M. 3063, *P.Z.* 105; Frazer Dewar Gleig, Spennymoor, Co. Durham, W.M. 5455, *Sc.E.* 1932; Charles Frederic Glenney, London, W., P.A.G.D.C., *P.A.G.St.B.*; Sir Hyde Clarendon Gowan, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Bombay, P.G.D., P.Dis.G.S.W.; Albert B. Grandsitsky, New York, 1076; John Herbert Greenwood, London, N.W., 4177; Frederick Charles Guildford, Hatch End, Middlesex, W.M. 3765, 3765; Ernest Walter Habluetzel, Soebang, Java, St. Jan; Tom Haden, Palaboeanratoe, Java, S.D., 5559 (E.C.); Edward Charles Harris, Kingston-on-Thames, L.G.R., 2416, 2416; Rupert Louis Hartill, Peppermint Grove, W. Australia, 61, 2; Archibald Frederic Hatten, Kingston Hill, W.M. 1872, 4552; Harold Heathcote-Williams, London, E.C., 3154; *Capt.* R. Henderson Bland, London, N.W., W.M. 2127; Walter Charles Henman, Birmingham, P.Pr.G.Purs. Worcs., 3863; Harry R. Hinchley, Renfrew, Ontario, 122, 114; F. Roy Hogbin, Bristol, 4464, 3992; Stanley Laurens Horka, Passaic, N.J., U.S.A., 67, 34; George Horsell, D.Se., London, S.W., 2433; William Clifford Howell, Cardiff, 36, 36; Frederick Edward Hunt, Wellington, Salop, 5481, 601; Robert Ives, London, N.W., 859, 859; Ernest Arthur Jeater, Mayfield, N.S.W., P.M. 573, *P.Z.* 81; *Capt.* Francis Thomas Jenkins, London, W., P.M. 1894; William Percival Johns, Minas Geraes, Brazil, J.W. 5559 (E.C.); Edward Francis Jones, London, S.E., 2956; John Robert Jones, Middlesbrough, S.D. 1848, *Sc.N.* 1848; Albert William Royal Kendrick, Twickenham, Middlesex, W.M. 2416; Myer Lawrence, Brighton, P.M. 5506, 1319; George Martin Lee, Coventry, J.W. 3997, 1355; William Heath Leese, B.A., London, S.E., J.W. 3344; William Herbert Lill, Altrincham, S.D. 4707, 2447; *Rev.* Harold Davies Littler, M.A., Redcar, Yorks., P.Pr.G.Ch., 1848; *Dr.* George Harold Lowe, Middlesbrough, P.M. 1848, *Z.* 1848; George Henry Lumley, Minas Geraes, Brazil, P.M. Sec. 5559 (E.C.); Sigfrid Reguel Lundquist, Helsinki, G.L., Sweden; George James Luxton, Jersey, C.I., 245, 245; C. T. Mabey, London, W.C., P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Archibald McWilliam, Sao Paulo, Brazil, P.Dis.G.D.; George Alfred Marriott, Manchester, P.G.D., *P.A.G.So.*; William Milles Martin, Bombay, P.Dis.G.D., 549; Sydney Charles Lewis Millman, Plymouth, P.M. 1255, *P.Z.* 1255; John Moser, Kendal, W.M. 129, *Sc.E.* 129; *Dr.* John Murray, Middlesbrough, P.M. 1848, *J.* 1848; Ethelbert Edward Nalty, Belfast, P.M. 573, 631; C. A. O'Neill, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., W.M. 1848, *Sc.E.* 1848; Alfred Pain, Folkestone, P.M. 2843, *H.* 2587; Edward Payne, Harrow-on-the-Hill, L.G.R., 2987, *Z.* 28; Edgar Samuel Perry, London, W., L.G.R., P.M. 2611, *P.Z.* 11; Robert Phillips, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 5560, 5560; Thomas Waters Phillips, Tenby, P.Pr.G.D., P.M. 5264; Henry James Phipps, Bristol, 4491, 1833; Cyril Oliver Pigott, Hove, A.Pr.G.Sec., P.M. 3143, *J.* 3143; John Harold Poad, Bristol, P.M. 103, 103; Arthur Winfred Quan, Madison, Wis., U.S.A., G.Pt., 4; Anthony Reed, Durham, 3568, 3568; David Ernest Richardson, Cleveleys, Lancs., 4065, 4065; Harry George Ridge, London, N., 4031; *Rev.* Hilary Isaac Robinson, York., 4362; Norman Rogers, Plymouth, 3821, 156; Robert Hudson Rogers, Farnborough, Kent, 1692, 1692; Sydney Daniel Rowe, London, N., P.M. 4272, 79; *Dr.* Nigos Yacob Ruben, Bagdad, 5277; Robert Charles Rutherford, L.L.M., Dunedin, N.Z., P.M. 18; *Dr.* Hernando Salcedo Salgar, Bogota, S. America, P.M. 1; Charles Sandford, Plymouth, 189, 189; Max Seiflow, Hatch End, Middlesex, P.A.G.D.C.; Gijsbertus Seubring, Bandoeng, Java, St. Jan; William Shackleton, L.R.I.B.A., Baildon, Yorks., 302, 1545; Frederick Ridley Shaw, M.A., Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., 1848, 1848; *Rev.* George Philip Sheridan, D.D., Rochester, Minn., U.S.A., P.G.Or., P.M. 100, 8; George Kinnear Smith, Rutherglen, Lanarkshire, 332, 50; Stuart Norman Smith, Upington, C.P., S. Africa, P.M. 5524, *P.So.* 3198; *Col.* Charles Beechey Spencer, Plymouth, P.Pr.G.W., *P.Z.* 2649; *Major* Frank Peter Strickland, Jr., Kansas City, U.S.A., P.M. 272; Frank Emil Stromberg, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A., 961; Ernest James Swift, Bexley Heath,

Kent, 2264; Frank Coston Taylor, London, S.W., L.G.R., *P.Z.* 2233; William Hans Arnold Thiemann, London, W.C., W.M. 238; John Samuel Duncan Thomas, Walton-on-Thames, J.W. 3415, *3415*; Joseph Henry Thompson, Croydon, J.D. 4567; James Arthur Thorp, Doncaster, W.M. 2259, *Sc.E.* 4282; Sidney Verling Tinsley, *M.B.*, *J.P.*, Spennymoor, Durham, P.Pr.G.R., 1121; Albert Tiplady, Middlesbrough, 543, *543*; Frank Craymer Toogood, Sao Paulo, Brazil, Dis.G.S.B., 5560; George Thomas Tristram, Bristol, 3992; Arthur Tunnicliff, Malvern, P.M. 1477, *P.Z.* 1477; John Charles Edward Vidler, Frimley Green, Surrey, 5594, 2203; Ernest Spry Vincent, Truro, P.M. 331, 331; Harold Ernest Waites, *A.L.A.*, London, N., 2077; Henry Walker, Whitehaven, P.M. 119, 119; William Waples, Sunderland, P.M. 80, *H.* 80; Herbert James West, London, N., L.G.R., *L.C.G.R.*; Robert Henry Wharrier, Minas Geraes, Brazil, P.M. 5559 (E.C.); Frank Richard Whitney, Gold Coast, 5559 (E.C.); Harold Wilfred Bertram Wilkinson, Shipley, P.M. 4223, *Z.* 4223; Norman Frank Wills, Beckenham, 5036; Percival Herbert Wingham, Canvey Island, 4263, 3394; Laurence Stother Wood, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 5560 (E.C.); Archibald Francis Wright, Leamington Spa, 284.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.



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